Sylveſtres homines ſacer interpreſque Deorum
Caedibus, et victu foedo, deterruit Orpheus;
Dictus ob hoc lenire tigreis, rabidoſque leones.
Dictus et Amphion, Thebanae conditor arcis,
Saxa movere ſono teſtudinis, et prece blanda
Ducere quo vellet. Fuit haec Sapientia quondam,
Publica privatis ſecernere, ſacra profanis:
Concubitu prohibere vago, dare jura maritis:
Oppida moliri: leges incidere ligno [*g*].

But how much ſoever the Grecians and other nations might afterwards ſurpaſs and outſtrip them, the *Cry* of the *Wiſdom of the Egyptians* being once raiſed, and ſpread about, the notion of it was ſtill kept up; and many living at a diſtance in other countries, ſo as to know nothing in reality of the Egyptians, fancied them, for a long time afterwards, to be wiſer than their neighbours. Nay ſome there are, particularly that famous Atheiſt Jordano Bruno [*b*] Nolano, and others of like libertine principles, who bear no good-will to Chriſtianity, knowing how much this is built upon Moſes, do not care to have it thought his writings came from god, but from Egypt. Theſe therefore extoll the Egyptians beyond meaſure, decry the Jews, and vilify that nation, their archives and laws, as meerly of Egyptian extract; an attempt as groundleſs, as vile and dangerous. Though there are very many that are, I do not ſay that all concerned are directly in this deſign, or perhaps are well apprized of the conſequences of it.

But, if arts flouriſhed among the Egyptians to the height that ſome imagine, this muſt needs be apparent in the remains

[*g*] Hor. de Arte Poet.
[*b*] Spaccio della Beſtia triumphante, 8vo p. . . .

of their works. Or if they were poſſeſſed of ſo great a ſhare of learning and wiſdom, it could not but diſcover itſelf in their actions and conduct, in their ſenſe and in their doctrines, in their life and manners. This is the true and proper ſtandard by which we may judge of this queſtion, and it is to this that I would have recourſe for the determining of it.

THERE are now few other remains of their buildings but the pyramids. Theſe are unqueſtionably the moſt ancient fabricks in the world, and their having ſtood for ſo many ages is an undoubted proof of their ſtrength and firmneſs. Not but that the benignity of the air there contributes much to their preſervation. They have ſeldom any rain, or moiſt weather, to injure or annoy them, and are wholly free from the vitriolic and other ſalts that ariſe with the ſmoak from our coal fires, and ſo greatly prey upon and endamage our buildings [*i*].

SOME

[*i*] The Newcaſtle coal, which is the chief fuel in London, contains in it a conſiderable quantity of vitriol; which being thus, in form of ſmoak, buoyed up into the atmoſphere, whenever there is any conſiderable fog, or humidity in it, this vitriolic matter immediately liquifies, and ſo conſtitutes a ſort of menſtruum, which, hovering about and lighting upon the bodies within its verge, frets and erodes thoſe that are liable to be wrought upon by it. This it is that makes the efforts we ſee upon our buildings; cauſing the iron work to ruſt and ſhiver, the ſtones to moulder, and in time to fall to pieces. It is now known to be this likewiſe, that, along with the air in which it is diſſolved, entering the lungs, contributes greatly to the coughs that are ſo frequent here, and is very troubleſome and offenſive to thoſe perſons that are phthiſical, aſthmatic, or labour under any indiſpoſition of the lungs. And they ſuffer more from it when the fogs are the thickeſt, and there is the greateſt quantity of this floating low and in the region of the atmoſphere wherein they breathe. Nor does any thing give them the relief that a briſk wind does, by its diſſipating and removing this matter. Its effects are indeed proportioned to the quantity of it. Where the houſes ſtand thick, and the hearths are many, theſe effects are ſo much the more quick and ſenſible. Some of the churches built ſince the fire, that are in the throng and center

SOME of the pyramids, and one in particular, ſhew ſomething in their fabrick that is truly very ſtately and great. And indeed the Greeks, and others who travelled anciently into thoſe parts, agreed that *theſe Works muſt needs be allowed by far the moſt conſiderable of any in all Egypt* [*k*]. Nay the *Egyptians themſelves* thought ſo very highly of the performance of the *Architects* that *built* them, that they were wont to declare they

center of the city, have already ſuffered more from theſe eroſions than the Banqueting houſe at Whitehall, that is built of the very ſame ſort of ſtone, and has ſtood three times as long. That therefore this, ſo noble a pile, is likely to ſtand firm, and a great while, is what will be reflected upon with pleaſure by thoſe that think this, of theſort, the fineſt piece of architecture in England. At the ſame time that all the well-wiſhers to Hiſtory and Chronology cannot but greatly regret it ſhould ſo unhappily fall out, that the Marmora Arundelliana and other ancient monuments brought from Greece and Anatolia, and now repoſited at Oxford, have ſuffered more in ſeventy or eighty years there, than in perhaps two thouſand in the countries from whence they were firſt fetched. But theſe vitriolic ſalts are not ſo detrimental to the buildings here, as our froſts ſometimes happen to be. It is known that water in freezing expands itſelf, taking up a ſenſibly greater room than before, and its expanſive power is ſo great as to force all obſtacles; nor do we know any body ſtrong enough to reſiſt it. And therefore whenever a building is expoſed to rain, and froſt follows, the water that happened to light in the joyntings and intervals of the ſtones, in freezing, diſtances and enlarges them, and that which ſunk in the pores burſts and ſhatters the ſtone; but this more or leſs, anſwerably to the laxity and porouſneſs of the ſtone, to the quantity of the water, and the depth that it penetrates. Upon this account it is that builders are ſo careful in covering their ſtone work, and ſecuring it, as much as may be, from the fall of rain. Now there falling very little rain in Egypt, and it being beſides a country ſo exceſſively hot as not to be ſubject to froſt, it being likewiſe not liable to the other inconvenience, the vitriolic ſalts in the air; we have a very aſſignable reaſon, to ſay nothing of the great hardneſs of the ſtone and marble there, why their buildings have endured ſo long, and ſtood firm thorough ſo many ages.

[*k*] Ὁμολογεῖται δὲ τᾶυτα τὰ ἔργα πολὺ προέχειν τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον. Diodor. l. i. p. 58. c.

were much more to be *admired* than the *princes* that were at the *expence* of thoſe works [*l*]. It being therefore agreed on all hands, that the pyramids were by far the moſt conſiderable of all their buildings, I ſhall fix upon theſe as a ſample of their ſkill in this art. And indeed there is nothing that deſerves the name of architecture in the whole frame of any of them: a great many very vaſt ſtones, placed indeed very firmly upon one another, and in ſuch ſort as to contribute greatly to the ſtrength and duration of the pile, but without any conſideration of ornament or beauty; the whole ſpeaking much more the induſtry and labour of the undertakers, than their ingenuity or contrivance. For as to the particular ſtructure of the pyramids, the foundation is ſquare, conſiſting of four equal ſides. Upon theſe are piled ſeveral tire or ranks of ſquared ſtones, placed upon each other in ſuch manner, that the upper approach nearer the axis of the whole than thoſe underneath; and ſo gradually leſſening, each ſide drawing cloſer ſtill and cloſer, till they all join and terminate finally in a point: a pile the moſt plain and ſimple that can well be imagined. For the rooms within, they are dark and ill contrived. The ceiling or coverture of them is made by large ſtones paſſing quite croſs from ſide to ſide, and reſting at each end upon the oppoſite walls, which probably was the only way of coverture that they had any notion of. At leaſt Diodorus, deſcribing another of their moſt celebrated buildings, takes particular notice that *it was topt with only one ſtone* [*m*]. They ſeem not at all to have been apprized of the ſtrength, beauty, or convenience of arch-work, any more than of the method of forming it. In truth, as to

[*l*] Diodor. ibid.

[*m*] Μονόλιθος ἦν ὀροφή. Diodor. l. i. p. 60 b.

the pyramids, there appears ſo little workmanſhip or art in the whole, that I do not by any means think it ſtrange that, when theſe works came to be ſcanned and conſidered by a nation that were judges, and that had ſo many vaſtly fairer patterns of architecture in view, they ſhould pronounce theſe piles *barbarous* [*n*] and uncouth, and think the mony expended in the raiſing of them very *idly* [*o*] and *indiſcreetly* employed. So miſtaken were M. Belon [*p*] and H. Conringius [*q*], in judging the pyramids preferable to all the works of Greece and Rome.

After theſe, the labyrinth was thought one of the moſt conſiderable of the Egyptian ſtructures. And, by their accounts, it ſeems to have been a very vaſt pile indeed; but very wild, rambling, and without any good deſign. Pliny [*r*] calls it *a moſt portentous work*, and ſuch truly it was. Not, as Pintianus obſerves [*s*], on account of any art or *ingenuity* to be diſcovered in it, but of the great *expence* of the building. Though as to that, the country was ever incredibly populous, and there were hands in ſuch numbers as would ſoon execute almoſt any practicable deſign. So that we are not to wonder at the greatneſs of any of their works; and indeed that is not the ſubject of this enquiry, but the judgement and underſtanding of the architects. What that was, may be learned from Strabo [*t*], who declares *the workmanſhip of the labyrinth like that of the pyramids*, of which enough has been ſaid above.

[*n*] Barbara Pyramidum ſileat miracula Memphi·. *Martialis*, l. i. Ep. 1.

[*o*] Pyramides in Aegypto Regum pecuniae otioſa ac ſtulta oſtentatio. *Plin.* l. xxxvi. c. 12.

[*p*] Obſerv. l. ii. c. 42. et de Op. adm. l. i.

[*q*] De Herm. Med. c. xii. p. 122.

[*r*] Portentoſiſſimum opus, l. xxxvi. c. 13. (*s*) Not. in Loc.

[*t*] Λαβυρίνθε κατασκευὴ, παρίσον ταῖς πυραμίσιν ἐ, ιν ἴδειν. l. xvii. p. 811. a.

Fuller

THEIR temples were likewiſe uſually very great, but every thing confuſed, barbarous, and ill-contrived in them. This is very plain from Strabo [*u*], who had been in the country, and is pretty full and particular in his account of them. To paſs by what Diodorus [*w*] and Hecatoeus [*x*] ſay of the buildings of Heliopolis, eſpecially the great temple there, as carrying no great appearance of certainty, one of the moſt extraordinary of all was that of Minerva at Sais. Herodotus [*y*] ſpeaks of it with ſome admiration, not becauſe of the excellence, but of the vaſtneſs of the work, and the huge bigneſs of the ſtones that compiled it. Near the entry of it was an edifice, twenty-one oubits in length, fourteen in breadth, and eight in height, the whole conſiſting of only one ſtone. There will be no great difficulty to a man of ſenſe to paſs judgement what their ſkill in building was who engaged in ſuch a work as this, how great ſoever their labour and induſtry might be. They were indeed very great, if this edifice was, as the Egyptians pretended, in their uſual boaſting ſtrain, brought from Elephantine, which is in their account diſtant twenty days ſail from Sais.

As to their private *houſes*, they made them anciently of only *reeds* [*z*]; nay Diodorus [*a*] informs us, that ſuch were in uſe among the meaner ſort of people, even in his time: nor were there any that were conſiderable in all the country. The ſame author expreſsly avers, of the people here in general, that they were wont to be *at* [*b*] *very little care* or pains *in the ſtructure of their houſes*. At the ſame time he tells us they

[*u*] L. xvii. p. 805, 806.
[*x*] Ap. Diodor. ib.
[*z*] Οἰκήσεις, ἐκ τῶν καλάμων καλαισκευάζεσθαι. Diodor. l. i. p. 41. b.
[*a*] Ibid.
[*b*] Τῶν μὲν κατὰ τὰς οἰκίας Κατασκευῶν ἧττον φροντίζουσι. Diodor. l. i. p. 47. d.
[*w*] L. i. p. 43, 44.
[*y*] L. ii. c. 175.

thought

thought they could never be at too much in the building and adorning their *ſepulchres*: which can never paſs for any other than a mighty paradox among men of ſenſe, to be ſo negligent of their houſes, on the contrivance of which ſo much of the happineſs and convenience of life depends, and ſpare no labour or expence upon their tombs, which are of no manner of real uſe. In a word, whether we reflect on the remains of them that are extant at this day, or the accounts that the ancients have left us, both of the public and private buildings of this country, it is moſt certain little can be collected in favour of the Egyptian ſkill in architecture.

Nor have they been more ſucceſsful in their carving and imagery, though this was what they were much practiſed in; and a great variety of their works of this ſort is extant to this very time. If they had any ſkill, to be ſure they would ſhew the utmoſt of it in carving and forming their idols, and the images of their Gods [*c*]. This was a mighty employ among them; and no nation in the univerſe uſed ſuch multitudes of theſe in their temples, in their houſes, and in their coemeteries, as the Egyptians did; which I believe will hardly paſs for a proof of their judgement and ſagacity. Of theſe there are great numbers in being at this day, of ſtone, of ſeveral ſorts of metal, and of *argilla*, preſerved in the cabinets of perſons curious in antiquities. I have ſeen ſeveral of them, and have ſome now by me in my own collection. Icons likewiſe of many of them have been publiſhed by the writers of Egyptian hiſtory, and the editors of muſeums [*d*]; amonſt all which, there never

appears

[*c*] Τῶν θεῶν ξόανα. Manetho ap. Joſeph. c. Apion. l. i. p. 1053. d.

[*d*] Varias Idolorum Aegyptiorum Icones exhibuerunt,

J. B. Caſalius, de veterib. Aegypt. ritibus; &

A. Kircher, Oedipus Aegypt. Tom. iii Synt. 17.

appears one ſingle figure that ſhews any thing of art or good work. Their limbs are ſtiff, and ill-proportioned; their bodies awkward, ſhapeleſs, and far inferior to the life. Nor were the formers of them wanting only in art and performance, for their very deſign was bad. No people living had ever ſo enormous and perverſe a fancy as they appear to have had. They really aimed at ſomething that was hideous, deformed, and monſtrous; a beaſt, or a fowl, with the head and face of a man; the head of a dog, or ſome other brute, of an hawk, or the like, upon an human figure [*e*]. Such were the κυνοκέφαλοι, the ἱεραξόμορφοι, the Θεοὶ ἀποτροπαῖοι, Sphynxes, and ſome others; of which there are ſeveral inſtances in Kircher, and the reſt juſt now mentioned. They ſeem to have affected what was ugly and irregular, as much as the Greeks, the Romans, and others, who had ſomething of ſpirit and a genteel fancy, did what was handſome, well-proportioned, beautiful, and like nature. So that we are the leſs to wonder that a Roman hiſtorian, who knew ſo much better, ſhould ſpeak of them with the utmoſt ſlight and contempt [*f*]. In like manner in their hiſtorical or

L. Pignorius, Menſa Iſiaca.
G. Cuperus, Harpocrates.
J. Nardius, Animady in Lucretium.
Oct. Ferrarius, De re veſtiaria. Par. ii. l. 2. c. 7.
Donatus, Roma vetus et recens.
Ol. Wormius, Muſeum. p. 348.
Cl. du Moulinet, Cabinet de la Biblioth. de S. Genevieve. p. 7. et ſeqq.
Muſeo Coſpiano, l. v.
Muſeo Moſcardo, l. i.

[*e*] Aegyptii effigies cum animalium vertuntur. Tacit. Hiſt. v. 5. Conf. Porphyr. περὶ ἀποχῆς. l. iv. § 9 p. 259. a.

[*f*] Deorum Simulachra, Regum Staturæ, monſtrificæ effigies. *Plin.* N. H. l. xxxvi. c. 13. p. 657. agens de Labyrintho Aegyptio. Et *Lactant.* Portentificæ Animalium figuras colerent. De Orig. Erroris, l. ii. § 13.

Hieroglyphic

hieroglyphic gravings, upon their obeliſks, and other monuments, every thing is flat, ſtiff, and ill finiſhed. It is plain, from what diſcovers itſelf every where, they were very poor maſters in the art of deſign, or drawing; and it is moſt certain that ſuch could never be good painters. This may be determined with great certainty, even at this diſtance, though there were not one ſcrap of their paintings now in being. But yet ſome there are upon the ſhrouds and bandages of the mummies brought from thence; and theſe ſhew us, that their performance in this was nothing better than in graving, and the ſtatuary art.

After ſuch a repreſentation of their buildings as the great diſtance from thoſe times would allow, and of the ſtate of the arts made uſe of for adorning them, ſculpture and painting, it may not be amiſs to add ſomething concerning their manner of providing for the ſecuring their perſons againſt the injuries of heat, the air, and weather, by their dreſs and habits. And theſe were likewiſe very rude and mean. There are vaſt numbers of perſons exhibited in their marbles, and monuments; of which, many are quite naked, and ſeveral with only a ſlight cincture reaching from their waiſt to their knees. Nay, thoſe that are beſt cloathed have their garments extremely ſtrait and ſcanty, juſt fitted to their bodies, without any thing handſome or becoming, any thing in the leaſt to adorn or ſet them off. They ſeem to have had no manner of notion of habits, like the *Paludamentum*, the *Toga*, or the other truly noble and graceful dreſſes of the Greeks and Romans. And yet in theſe monuments, there are frequent repreſentations of Oſiris, Iſis, and the reſt of even their principal deities, of the prieſts, who were of the royal family, or at leaſt perſons of the firſt

rank and note among them; which, without queſtion, were all attired in the beſt manner and faſhion of the country.

IT will, I know, be thought by ſome, that I do not do the Egyptians juſtice, unleſs I make ſome acknowledgement of their art in preſerving their dead bodies ſo ſound and intire, as we ſee they are, thorough ſo many ages. This, therefore, I ſhall not neglect ſaying ſomething to, and much will not be needful. And firſt, it will not be improper to look a little into the reaſon that induced them to take all this care and pains about the dead. They were of opinion, that, upon the death of any perſon, the ſoul, quitting the body, tranſmigrated into ſome other. That, upon the deceaſe of this likewiſe, it betook itſelf ſtill to another; and ſo on, till it had paſſed all creatures, belonging both to the air, the ſea, and land [*g*]; when, after a revolution of three thouſand years, it returned to the body that it firſt abandoned, entering and habiting it afreſh. This doctrine will, I believe, hardly be inſiſted upon as an inſtance of the Wiſdom of the Egyptians, any more than the practice of that nation in purſuit of it. For they only took care to preſerve the hulk and outer parts of the body, whilſt they drew out the brains, the bowels, and intrails, all except the heart and kidney, and caſt them away to periſh and rot [*b*]. So that the ſoul, at its return, muſt be forced either to take up a body that was deſtitute of brains, and the greater part of the bowels; which ſurely would have afforded it but a very indifferent habitation, or elſe it muſt have theſe reframed to its uſe and furniſhed forth anew; and then nobody will be well able to imagine why the

[*g*] Herodot. l. ii. c. 123.

[*b*] Diodor. l. i. p. 82. Herodot. l. ii. c. 86. Porphyr. de Abſt. l. iv. § 10. Sextus Empir. πυρρών. l. iii. c. 24. p. 156. c.

reſt

reſt of the body might not as well have been framed by the ſame means, without all this trouble of preſerving it, and, in truth, but in a very ſorry manner after all. If it be confined to the uſe of ſuch limbs and members as it will meet with under the Egyptian ſhrouds, it will have very miſerable inſtruments to work with, and ſuch, indeed, that will be ſo little ſerviceable to the ends of life, motion, and action, that it were as well to have none; and all the labour of the embalming is juſt to no purpoſe at all. But to wave all this, and conſider a little the manner of it, we have ſome of theſe mummies before us, and may ſee in what ſort they are preſerved. Beſides, Herodotus [*i*], Diodorus [*k*], and others of the Antients, that had been there, and made their obſervations upon the Egyptian conditure, have given us an account of all the drugs made uſe of, and the whole proceſs of the ordering the body. In which, bateing the ceremony and ſolemnity that was peculiar to this nation upon all occaſions, there was nothing that was conſiderable or extraordinary. Nor indeed is it ſo much owing to their ſkill, or method of conditure, that theſe bodies endure ſound and entire through ſo many ages, as to the warmth, the dryneſs, and goodneſs of the air in that country. When once they are removed thence, and tranſported to other parts, they are apt enough to decay, unleſs great care be taken of them. And I myſelf ſaw here a mummy, brought formerly out of Egypt, that, after it had been for ſome time in our more humid air, began to corrupt and grow mouldy, emitted a foetid and cadaverous ſcent, and in concluſion putrified and fell to pieces.

It is now high time that I put an end to this article, relating to the Egyptian arts, which I ſhall do, after I have added only

[*i*] L. ii. c. 86. [*k*] L. i. p. 81. et ſeqq.

a few lines concerning their Muſick. The Egyptians were a people very luxurious, and addicted to pleaſure above all other nations [*l*]. And that good muſick affords an entertainment extremely pleaſing and agreeable, is what has been allowed by men of the better ſenſe and taſte in all ages. If the Egyptians were ſuch, and apprized of the excellency of this art, we may reaſonably expect inſtruments of all the better kinds, in perfection among them. But ſo far were they from this, that the ſiſtrum, their moſt celebrated inſtrument, was much more likely to fright or offend a man of ſenſe, than pleaſe or gratify him. This is plain, from the deſcriptions that Plutarch [*m*], and Apuleius [*n*], have given of it. Beſides, there are ſeveral of theſe ſiſtrums ſtill extant, preſerved in the cabinets [*o*] of men of learning and curioſity, as alſo figures and repreſentations of a great many more upon ancient marbles and medals [*p*]. The conſtruction of it is ſuch, that it is not poſſible to play any thing like a tune upon it. Moſt certainly the noiſe of it is ſo hideouſly jarring, ſo harſh, and untuneable, that I have not heard of any thing ſo rude among any the moſt ſavage and uncivilized people in being. And yet it was in great vogue and requeſt there, being in very frequent uſe upon all occaſions in their wars [*q*], at their funerals [*r*], in the feaſts and pomps.

[*l*] Joſephus Ἀρχαιολ. l. ii. c. 5. ſub initio.

[*m*] De Iſide et Oſir.

[*n*] Metamorph. l. xi.

[*o*] In Muſeo Fr. Gualdi Romae, v. J. Oiſelii Theſaur. Numiſmat. p. 566. Tab. ii. 7. Dans le Cabinet de Ste. Genevieve. Cl. du Moulinet, p. 7.

[*p*] Confer Bacchini, l. de Siſtris, 4to.

[*q*] Patrio vocat agmina Siſtro. Aeneid. viii.

[*r*] Siſtra jubentia luctus. Lucan. l. viii. p. 210. a.

of

of Iſis [*s*], and at their ſacrifices and higheſt ſolemnities. The Mythologiſts generally aſſert that the *Harp* was invented in this country. They tell us that Mercury, finding the ſhell of a dead Tortoiſe, upon the ſhores of the Nile, fitted ſtrings to it, and ſo compoſed that inſtrument. Such a one would make ſomething better muſick than the Siſtrum, though truly not very much. Beſides the *Harp*, Strabo [*t*] mentions *Pipes* as uſed in their ſacrifices, which Herodotus [*u*] does alſo, and *Caſtinets* [*x*] upon another occaſion, which probably were all the muſick they had, and theſe laſt far from good, as may be inferred from their ſo much preferring the Siſtrum. Yet there were infinitely better in uſe in thoſe times. It appears from the Book of Pſalms, that they had all the while in Judea, ſeveral of even the beſt ſorts of muſical inſtruments, very antiently. But it is certain that country had made great progreſs in ſcience, and in the arts of uſe in life, of ornament, and of pleaſure, long before any other in the univerſe, and whilſt even the nations all round were much in ignorance, diſtreſs, and darkneſs.

I PASS on now to enquire into the ſtate of ſcience among the Egyptians, to ſee whether they were more ſucceſsful in the proſecution of that. In order to which, I ſhall conſider their laws, their hiſtory, their philoſophy, their phyſick, their geometry, and their aſtronomy.

[*s*] Per tua Siſtra precor— *Atque mox*—
Et comes in pompa corniger Apis eat.
Ovid. Amorum, l. ii. El. 13. ad Iſidem.

—Quum pompa pependit
Atque ipſa Iſiaco certarunt fulmina Siſtro. *Manilius*, l. i. in fine p. 29. a.

" Siſtrum ſacerdotes Iſidis portant." Vet. Scholiaſt. in Juvenal. Sat. v. 136.

[*t*] L. xvii. p 814. c.
[*u*] L. ii. c. 48.
[*x*] Κρόταλα. ib. c. 60.

Ex

BY the way, I ſhall ſay ſomething of their religion, a thing that was ever judged of that high importance that all wiſe nations have been of opinion they could not poſſibly beſtow too much care in the ſettlement of it. If the Egyptians did ſo likewiſe, we ſhall have little reaſon to entertain any mighty thoughts of their judgement and underſtanding. Since their religion was undoubtedly the wildeſt and moſt fantaſtic that the ſun ever ſaw; and, in ſetting it forth, I ſhall be obliged to lay open a ſcene that cannot but be very ſurprizing. They were, above all other nations, ſo ſunk in idolatry, that they ſeem to have known little, if any thing, of God, to whom they owed their being, and all the good and happineſs they enjoyed. It is moſt certain there was no where leſs acknowledgement or regard paid him in their religion by the moſt ſavage people all round the globe. And that precept [*y*], *to have no other Gods before* the true and only God, was very neceſſary to the Iſraelites, who were then newly *brought out of the Land of Egypt*, where they had ſeen ſuch numerous inſtances of the worſhip of ſo many falſe and imaginary ones. Nor need we now much wonder why this comes firſt, and ſtands in the very front of the decalogue.

THE Egyptians paid a mighty worſhip all over the country [*z*] to their ancient princes [*a*], the firſt founders of the kingdom: to Oſiris [*b*], who was the ſame with Hammon, and with Ham, the ſon of Noah, who immediately after the tranſaction at Babel came down in perſon and ſettled here: to Iſis his wife, and Horus their ſon. They were, from all antiquity, extremely fond of the notion of the tranſmigration of ſouls, and would

[*y*] Exod. xx. 2, 3.
[*z*] Herodot. l. ii. c. 42.
[*a*] Ibid. c. 144.
[*b*] Diodor. l. i. p. 49.

have

have it, that Oſiris, after his death, tranſmigrated [*c*] into an Ox. Upon this account it was that all Egypt ever worſhiped this creature [*d*] with the higheſt pageantry and ſolemnity. To this purpoſe, to paſs by that of Heliopolis, they kept a living ox at Memphis, which they called Apis. They dedicated temples to his ſervice; indeed the moſt conſiderable in all the country. In theſe he lived, and was fed, and hither the people reſorted to receive oracles [*e*] from him. He had great numbers of prieſts continually preſent, being ſet apart wholly for his ſervice, and they too of the higheſt rank and quality in the kingdom, ſome even of the royal family. Beſides which there were great numbers of boys ſinging hymns to the honour of him [*f*], as alſo lictors, and other officers, in continual attendance. Whenever he came forth, and ſhewed himſelf openly to the people [*g*], there was an univerſal joy, every body appeared in the greateſt ſplendour, and a feſtival was ſolemnized thorough the whole country. The time of his birth was yearly celebrated with no leſs ſolemnity, for ſeven whole days together [*h*]; and, when he happened to dye, all Egypt went into mourning [*i*], his body was embalmed, interred in the moſt ſolemn manner they could deviſe, and they were under the higheſt conſternation and anxiety till they had found

[*c*] Diodor. l. i. p. 76. e.

[*d*] Bos in Aegypto etiam Numinis vice colitur, Apim vocant. Plin. l. viii. c. 46. p. 557. e.

[*e*] Plin. l. viii. c. 46. p. 558. b. Pauſan. l. vii. p. 579. d.

[*f*] Plin. l. viii. c. 46.

[*g*] ἐπιφάνεος. Herodot. l. iii. c. 27.

[*h*] Ammian. Marcellin. l. xxii. c. 15. p. 260. c. Conf. Plin. l. viii. c. 48. p. 558. c. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9. p. 13. d.

[*i*] Plin. l. viii. c. 46. p. 558. a.

out

out another like creature of the ſame colour, and with the ſame marks that the former had. In fine, an ox was their principal deity, and this the higheſt worſhip in all the country.

THIS ox was adored thorough all Egypt [*k*], as were alſo dogs and cats, the ibis, hawk, lepidotus, and Oxyrrhineus [*l*]. Indeed all the animals that were produced throughout the whole country, were reputed *ſacred* [*m*], and all of them worſhiped [*n*] in ſome place or other. Even thoſe that were enemies to human nature [*o*], and of all others the moſt noxious and injurious to the people. Lions [*p*], bears [*q*], wolves [*r*], crocodiles [*r*], and ſerpents [*s*], were all *adored* here, fed, and treated with great obſervance. Of this laſt ſpecies of divinities ſurely they had no want, ſince *Egypt produced ſerpents without number*, which were *extremely venomous and fierce*. The advocates of the Egyptian theology, who are wont to put this practice of the worſhip of animals upon a principle of gratitude, and ſay the inhabitants paid them that regard becauſe of the good and benefit they received from them, will hardly find that the worſhip of theſe laſt-mentioned comports well with that notion. But yet

[*k*] Apis populorum omnium numen eſt. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9. 13. d.

[*l*] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 812. c. [*m*] Herodot. l. ii. c. 65.

[*n*] πάντα τὰ ζῶα σέβεσιν. Porphyr. de Abſtin. l. iv. 155. b.

[*o*] Beſtias adverſantes naturae colitis, multa diligentia nutrientes. Rufinus Joſephi interpres, l. ii c. Ap. p. 10. 65. b.

[*p*] Porph. ibid. p. 154. c. [*q*] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 67.

[*r*] Diodor. l. i. p. 74. b. χροκοδείλων ἀποθέωσις. ibid. 80. a.

[*s*] Herodotus, l. ii. c. 74. Minutius Fel. Oct. p. 267. Philo Bibl. ex Sanchon. ap. Euſeb. Pr. l. i. c. x. Serpentes—Aegyptus alit innumeras, ultra omnem perniciem facientes. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. c. 15. p. 262. c.

ſo

ſo high was their devotion to theſe creatures, though thus miſchievous and pernicious, that they thought *thoſe* perſons. *who were bit by aſps*, the moſt poiſonous of all ſerpents, or *ſeized* and devoured by crocodiles, *very happy and acceptable to the deity* [*t*]. Beſides thoſe animals already recited, there were others that were likewiſe adored there, as eagles [*u*], cows [*x*], monkies [*y*], goats [*z*], and ſheep [*a*]. And ſince theſe laſt were worſhiped in that country, it can never be thought ſtrange that every *ſhepherd* ſhould be an *abomination to the Egyptians* [*b*]. It is the proper employ of ſhepherds to propagate ſheep, and fat them for ſlaughter: a thing that muſt needs be deteſtable to a people who allowed them prieſts for their attendance, who adored them, and were ſo very far from being brought to kill them, that they would not ſo much as taſte of mutton or of kid; at the ſame time that man's fleſh was an allowed diſh among them, and what nobody there had any need to ſcruple.

— Lanatis animalibus abſtinet omnis
Menſa. Nefas illic foetum jugulare capellae
Carnibus humanis veſci licet [*c*].

It was for the ſame reaſon, that *the Egyptians might not eat with the Hebrews*, that being *an abomination to the Egyptians* [*d*].

[*t*] Eos, qui Aſpidibus mordentur, et a Crocodilis rapiuntur, felices et Deo dignos arbitrantur. Rufinus Interpres Joſephi, l. ii. c. Apion. p. 1065.

[*u*] Diodor. l. i. p. 78. d. [*x*] Diodor. ib. p. 77. c.

[*y*] Juvenal, xv. 4.

[*z*] Diod. ib. 78. c. Strabo, l. xvii. 802. b. Herod. l. ii. c. 46.

[*a*] Diod. ib. p. 77. c.

[*b*] Gen. xlvi. 34. Conf. I. M. Dilherri Diſp. Philolog. tom i. p. 115. I. C. Dieterici Antiquit. Bibl. to. i. p. 23. 136. et ſeqq. et Bochart. Hierozoic. l. ii. c. 53 p. 644.

[*c*] Juvenal, Sat. xv. 11. [*d*] Gen. xliii. 32.

For, as an ancient writer obſerves, *the Hebrews eat thoſe very animals to which the Egyptians paid a religious reverence* [*e*]. But to proceed. At *Anubis* they adored a *living man*; where were *altars* erected, and *ſacrifices* offered to him [*f*]. That one man ſhould fall down and worſhip another, deport himſelf to him as a god, and conſult him as an *oracle*, which Minutius Felix [*g*] aſſures us was done there, would be ſurely very extravagant any where but in *Egypt*; where a *great part* of the country, *among* their other remarkable *deities*, *worſhiped* alſo *beetles* [*h*], one of the vileſt and meaneſt of all infects: and where beans, vetches, leeks, onions, and even cheeſe [*i*], were revered as ſo many gods.

THOUGH the Egyptians were all agreed as to the divinity of ſome animals, ſuch as dogs, cats, bulls, and the reſt recounted above, yet this was not the caſe with regard to the worſhip of the reſt; particularly of the crocodile, the eagle, the goat, and ſeveral others, ſome of the towns making choice of one kind of animal, and ſome of another. Nay, ſo greatly did they differ, that the animal that was adored in one place was killed and offered in ſacrifice to that which was worſhiped in another. This laid a foundation of mighty heats and feuds, and even of civil wars, among them [*k*]. Implacable ſquabbles, wranglings, and diſputes, there were perpetually betwixt one town and an-

[*e*] Pecus, quod Aegyptii colunt, Ebraei comedunt. Onkelos ap. Dieter. ib. p. 138. Conf. etiam Bochart. l. ii.

[*f*] Porph. περὶ ἀποχ. l. iv. p. 155. Conf. Theodoreti Orat. c. Graec. 3.

[*g*] Octavius, p. 281.

[*h*] Aegyptii magna pars ſcarabaeos inter numina colit. Plin. l. xxx. c. 11. p. 322. e. Conf. Porph. l. c.

[*i*] Minutius Fel. Oct. p. 278. Diodor. l. i. p. 80. d. Plin. l. xix. c. 6. Sex. Empir. πυρρῶν, l. iii. p. 156. c. Plutarch. de Iſide, p. 353.

[*k*] Plutarch. de Iſide, 380. b. Ruſinus Interpres Joſephi c. Apion. l. ii. p. 1065. d.

other, whoſe was the better god, and which the truer religion: each would have their own to be the proper object of adoration, deſpiſing and hating that of their neighbours. And ſuch was their zeal in this important affair, whether a wolf or a bear, a monkey or a goat, a ſerpent or a crocodile, was the moſt preferable deity, that the rabble on each ſide were frequently engaged in fights, for the deciſion of that controverſy. Eſpecially the inhabitants of *Ombi*, who worſhiped crocodiles: and they of *Tentyra*, who did all they could to deſtroy and extirpate them, as the moſt troubleſome and dangerous creatures in all the country [*k*].

Inter finitimos vetus, atque antiqua ſimultas,
Immortale odium, & nunquam ſanabile vulnus
Ardet adhuc, Ombos & Tentyra. ſummus utrinque
Inde furor vulgo, quod numina vicinorum
Odit uterque locus, cum ſolos credat habendos
Eſſe deos, quos ipſe colit [*l*].—

PLUTARCH tells us, that in his time the people of Cynopolis, who worſhiped a dog, having made bold with a fiſh of the kind they called Oxyrynchus, killed and eaten it, the inhabitants of Oxyrynchus, who adored that fiſh, in revenge caught all the dogs they could find, killed, ſacrificed, and eat them in like manner. This gave riſe to a war betwixt thoſe two towns; in which great damage and loſs was ſuſtained on both ſides. Nor could they be brought to any peace and agreement, till the Romans, who were then maſters of the country, came upon them, chaſtized, and beat both into better ſenſe and manners [*m*].

Theſe enmities and differences about religion were ever great,

[*k*] V. Salmaſii Exerc. Plin. ad. Solin.
[*l*] Juvenal, Sat. xv. 33.
[*m*] Plutarch. de Iſide, p. 380. b.

and obſerved in all ages by thoſe who traveled into the country [*n*]. There was ſcarce a general agreement in any thing; and, as Sextus Empiricus well obſerves, what paſſed in ſome of their temples for moſt profound *ſanctity*, was reputed *in others* the higheſt impiety [*o*]. Which, as the ſame author there juſtly remarks, was becauſe their notion of what was *pious*, and what not, was wholly imaginary, and not by any means real; nor had it any the leaſt foundation in the nature of things. The diſpute ſhould not have been whether a goat or a crocodile was the more proper object of worſhip; but whether any of them had any title to it. And indeed when the Greeks, and other ſtrangers, began to enquire of them into the reaſons of this ſort of religion, they were ever greatly at a loſs for any tolerable reply. Nor need we much wonder that no two of them could agree in the reaſons they aſſigned, when in truth none of them could have any at all for ſo very fooliſh and abſurd a practice. Diodorus [*p*] has, with a great deal of care and pains, ſet forth the reaſons they gave to the beſt advantage, and in the beſt light they were capable of; and among them all there is not one that wil abide any ſcrutiny. All that by my own enquiries I could ever make of this matter was, that the opinion of the tranſmigration of the ſoul antiently obtained among the Egyptians; and that they, fancying that the ſouls of the firſt founders of their nation, their progenitors, and benefactors, paſſed into the ſeveral creatures of that country, worſhiped them upon that account. This firſt gave riſe to the thing, and poſterity continued the practice even after the tradition of the cauſe

[*n*] Strabo, l. xvii. p. 812, 813. Clem. Alexand. προτρεπτ. p. 25.

[*o*] Ἄλλ' ἐν τίσιν ἱεροῖς ὅσια, ταῦτα ἐν ἑτέροις ἀνόσια. Sextus Emp. Πυρρόν. l. iii. p. 155. d.

[*p*] l. i. p. 17. et ſeqq.

of

of it was worn out, and without knowing really for what end they did it. Which indeed Diodorus [*q*] himſelf gives ſome intimation of, even though he and his countrymen were great admirers of the Egyptians; and were wont to put the beſt and moſt favourable conſtruction they could upon all their tranſactions.

Nor did they thus, *beyond all meaſure*, worſhip *only the animals that were living, but even the dead too* [*r*]. Nay they had every where *images* of them for their adoration. Strabo tells us, the *image* in their ſeveral temples was no where *in ſhape of a man, but ſome ſort of animal* or other; and this probably it was that drew upon them that rebuke of the ſatyriſt,

Oppida tota canem venerantur, nemo Dianam [*s*].

Amongst the reſt they worſhiped the figure of an ox, in *imitation* of which doubleſs the *molten calf* [*t*] in the wilderneſs was made by the Iſraelities; who had ſeen ſo many inſtances of like ſort in Egypt, out of which they were ſo lately re-treated. It was aſſuredly in oppoſition to that unreaſonable cuſtom that the ſecond precept of the decalogue was framed; *not* to make any graven image, or likeneſs of any thing in hea-

[*q*] Ibid. p. 81. b.

[*r*] Σεβονται γὰρ ἔνια τῶν ζώων Αἰγύπτιοι καθ' ὑπερβολὴν, οὐ ξοάνοις μόνον, ἀλλ' οὐ τελεσιάρχαις. Diodor. l. i. p. 74. b. Natio Aegyptiorum turpiſſimas belluarum ſuperſtitioſas colunt. Lactan. Div. Inſtit. l. v. c. 20. Ξόανον δὲ ἀνθρωπόμορφον, ἀλλὰ τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων τινός. l. 17. p. 805. c.

[*s*] Juvenal, xv. 8. Per Canem Anubin intelligit, quem canino capite effingebant, vel quemvis alium. Lubin. in loc. De Fele Plinius, Oppidum Rhodanæ, in quo felis aurea pro Deo colebatur. l. vi. c. 29. p. 375.

[*t*] Exod. xxx. 4. Conf. Philon. de Vita Moſis, p. 677. c. et Selden de Dis Syris, Synt. i. c. 4.

ven, the earth, or the water, to bow down and ſerve [*u*]; and that the Jews were forbidden to make gods of ſilver and of gold [*x*].

THEIR addreſs to the ſacred animals, and the treatment of them, was very extraordinary. They had *prieſts* in great numbers, attending their ſervice [*y*]; and theſe likewiſe of the higheſt rank and quality in all the country. They put up *prayers* [*z*], and made *vows* to them for the preſervation or recovery of their healths, as there happened to be occaſion; and alſo during great heats, peſtilence, or other public calamities [*a*]. Theſe creatures were poſſeſſed of the moſt ſtately *temples* of Egypt; which were likewiſe ſet off with gold, with ſilver, and the nobleſt furniture that could be invented. Their bodies were attired and adorned with the fineſt and richeſt cloths. They were wont to have *hot baths* provided for them; to be anointed with the ſweeteſt ointments; and cenſed with the moſt fragrant *incenſes* and perfumes [*b*]. The people *adored* and *worſhiped* [*c*] them wherever they found them; and this in the moſt public manner, as a thing very glorious and honourable; many of them, when they went abroad, in a ſort of oſtentation, carrying with them *marks* and *inſignia* of the animals they revered, or were under their *care* and *adminiſtration* [*d*]. And the creatures they thus worſhiped being males, they took great care

[*u*] Exod. xx. 4. 5.
[*x*] ib. v. 23. Conf. etiam Philon. Decalogo, p. 756.
[*y*] Diodor. l. i. p. 75. c.
[*z*] Ευχας, Diodor. 74. c.
[*a*] Plutarch. de Iſide, p. 380. c.
[*b*] Diodor. ib. p. 76.
[*c*] Προσκυνήσας και τιμώλας. Diod. ib. p. 74. c. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 65.
[*d*] Ibid.

to procure them the fineſt and *handſomeſt* females [*d*] they could, of the ſame kind, to ſerve them as *concubines* [*e*]. The whole country, all except Thebais, was under a perpetual and ſtanding tax, for the maintenance of the ſacred animals [*f*]. They made plentiful proviſion of all ſorts of *meats*, for *cakes*, *ſweet-meats*, *fleſh*, *raw*, *boiled*, *roaſted* [g], for the entertainment of the dogs, cats, and the reſt that would eat ſuch meats. For others, as the bulls, ſheep, and the like, they had *grain*, *hay*, *graſs*, *and paſture*, provided for them. Each of thoſe that were worſhiped had a field dedicated peculiarly to them, and ſet apart for their repaſt [*h*]. It was, by the laws of Egypt, *death* for any man to kill one of theſe creatures wilfully [*i*]. Nay, if a *cat*, or *Ibis* [*k*], happened to be killed, though accidentally and without deſign, the perſon that did it was ſure to be murdered immediately by the rabble, in the moſt cruel manner, without ever ſtaying for any legal proceſs for his condemnation [*l*]. To avoid which, and out of mere fear of ſuch a fate, whenever any man happened to find either of theſe creatures dead, he was wont, before he came near it, to cry out with great *lamentation*, and proteſt he found it *dead* [*m*]. Nay, ſo deeply implanted in their minds was this ſuperſtition, and ſo obſtinate were they in it, that Diodorus avers he was an eye-witneſs of a tumult about a Roman ſoldier's killing of a cat by mere acci-

[*d*] Ἐνειδισάτα ib. p. 76. b.
[*e*] Παλλακίδας. ib.
[*f*] Plutarch. de Iſide, p. 359. d.
[*g*] Diodor. ib. 76. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 65.
[*h*] Diodor. l. i. p. 74. c.
[*i*] Ibid. 74. c. et Herodot. ib.
(*k*) An hawk, or Ibis. Herodot. ib.
[*l*] Diodor. ibid. 75. a. Conf. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9. p. 13. c.
[*m*] Diodor. ibid.

dent,

that very few of them eſcaped [*b*]. But to return to the Egyptians—When any of the ſacred animals chanced to dye, their mourning and lamentations were exceſſive [*c*]. Upon the death of a *cat*, all thoſe that dwelt in the houſe where that happened, ſhaved their *eye-brows*, as they did their *head* and *whole body* upon the death of a dog [*d*]. They bewailed the loſs of them as greatly as that of their neareſt relations, with ſhrieks and beating of their breaſts, and were uſually at a vaſt expence upon the funerals, ſometimes much beyond their abilities [*e*]. In fine, they embalmed them with their richeſt and moſt fragrant drugs, wrapt them up in fine linen, and finally depoſited them in the ſacred ſepulchral vaults [*f*].

THERE was a practice that had obtained in Egypt, which muſt needs be very ſurprizing, if any one thing can be thought ſo among people where every thing was ſo prepoſterous and aſtoniſhing. In time of any great *drought* cauſed by extreme heat of the weather, which in that climate is ſometimes ſuch as to be hardly ſupportable, or when the country laboured under any *raging diſtemper* or other public *calamity*, they took ſome of the *animals* they *worſhiped* aſide in the *dark*, and there firſt *menaced* and terrified them, in order to oblige them to remove the *calamity*. But, if that did not ceaſe in a little time, they fairly knocked them on the head and *ſlew them* [*g*]. This was very plain dealing with them indeed; but men leſs bigoted and ſuperſtitious would have been apt to infer that

[*b*] G. Boſman, p. 408.
[*c*] Herodot. l. ii. c. 66. Pomp. Mela, l. i. c. 9. p. 13. c.
[*d*] Ibid.
[*e*] Diodor. l. i. p. 74. c. 76. b. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 66.
[*f*] Diodor. l. i. p. 17. c. Conf. Herodot. l. ii. c. 66.
[*g*] Plutarch. de Iſide, p. 380. c.

thoſe

thoſe creatures that could not ſecure themſelves againſt ſuch menaces and inſults, were not over-likely to ſecure their votaries againſt thoſe calamities they were preſſed with, which were aſſuredly more remote and more out of their power. But indeed a little thought and reflection would ſoon have ſpoiled all, by diſcarding and putting an end to all the parts of ſo very fooliſh a worſhip [*b*]. Nor was this the only abſurdity committed by the Egyptians in the performance of their worſhip. At Papremis many of thoſe that came to the temple were wont to bring with them clubs of wood, and there were uſually preſent above 1000 perſons. As ſoon as the ſacrifices were performed, and the offices at an end, they fell upon each other with ſuch fury and violence, that Herodotus, who happened to be preſent, and a ſpectator of one of theſe religious frays, avers, he was not able to imagine but that many of them muſt dye of the bruiſes and wounds they received. When he came to enquire into the meaning of this riot, the account they gave him was, that the mother of Mars formerly dwelt in that temple; and he, when grown to man's ſtate, coming hither to lie with her,

[*b*] It may not be wholly foreign to take notice, that in China they have to this day a cuſtom not very unlike that ſet forth above. When they are to enter upon any undertaking of importance, they firſt apply to their idols, and make them promiſes of great oblations if they ſucceed, and entreat them to favour and to be auſpicious to the enterprize. To find out the diſpoſition of the idol, they caſt lots before it. In caſe the lot proves right, all is well, but otherwiſe they fall foul upon the idol, traduce it, call it *dog, villain*, and all the ill names they can muſter up. Then they caſt lots again, and, if in concluſion the lot is not right, they fling the idol down, whip it, beat, roaſt it at a fire, and put all the indignities to it that they can invent, till the lot becomes affirmative, when they ſpeak the idol fair again, and make a feaſt with great offerings to it, finging, and muſick. Gonçalez de Mendoça, Hiſt. del gran Reyno de la China. l. ii. c. 4

her attendants, not knowing him, refuſed to let him enter. upon that, he got ſeveral perſons from the next town to his aſſiſtance, beat the attendants, and ſo made his way to his mother by force. In memory of which this fight was performed there yearly upon the day dedicated to the honour of Mars [*i*]: a procedure very becoming thoſe devotées, and fitly ſuited to ſuch an original. And the ſame hiſtorian was likewiſe preſent at a feſtival of Iſis, in the city of Buſiris; at which was a concourſe of ſeveral thouſand men and women: where, after the ſacrifice was over, they were all whipt; but *in what manner*, out of meer modeſty, *he thought not fit to declare* [*k*]. There paſt indeed very frequent and ſome very ſtrange obſcenities in their worſhip [*l*]. Amongſt other trinkets they were wont to carry φάλλοι and αἰδοῖα in the pomps of Bacchus [*m*], and of Oſiris [*n*], as worthy of *divine worſhip* [*o*]. So that it was not without juſt cauſe that ſeveral of the ancients declared the Egyptians *adored ſome things as Gods* that they might well have *bluſhed to name* [*p*]. But as this is a ſubject upon which I care not how ſhort I am, ſo I ſhall diſmiſs it after I have given only one inſtance more; which is, that when, after the deceaſe of Apis, they had found out another ox with the like marks, and brought him with wondrous rejoicings and mighty pomps to Memphis, he was there attended for forty days only by *women*,

[*i*] Herodot. l. ii. c. 63, 64.

[*k*] τῷ δὲ τύπτονται ἅμοι ὅσιόν ἐϛι λέγειν. Ib. c. 61.

[*l*] V. Diodor. l. i. p. 78. c.

[*m*] Herodot. l. ii. c. 48, 49.

[*n*] Plutarch. de Iſide, p. 355. e. 388. b. 365. b.

[*o*] Θεᾶς τιμῆς. Theodoret. Ser. iii. c. Grace. p. 51.

[*p*] Quaedam etiam pudenda dictu tanquam Deos adorant. Lactant. de Juſtitia, l. v. p. 485. Ita quoque et Theodoret. l. c.

who were wont to preſent themſelves before him; and, to give the reſt in the words of the author, δεικνύσιν ἀναστυράμεναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν γεννήτικα μόρια [q]. Other tranſactions of like ſort were obſerved by Herodotus, which were ſo immoral, that, partly out of modeſty, partly out of a peculiar partiality and favour to that nation, he deſignedly concealed them, as he intimates upon ſeveral occaſions [r].

It will not be very much beſide the preſent ſubject, to take notice how univerſally fond the Egyptians were and addicted in all ages to charms, magic, ſorcery, divination, and other like vain arts [s]. Then for their Περίαπτα, amulets, and other ſuperſtitious toys of that ſort, they had them without end. There are great numbers of them extant in the cabinets all over Europe to this day [t]; and I myſelf have a conſiderable variety of them by me. The Scarabaei cut in onyxes, cornelians, emeralds, and other like ſtones, are of all the moſt common. Pliny tells us, they fancied theſe, if *hanged about the necks of children*, to be a mighty *preſervative* to them [u], and that they had likewiſe a power *to keep off hail, and locuſts, by means of a prayer that is added, which they ſhew* actually graved upon them [w]. The hieroglyphic delineations that are upon

[q] Diodor. l. ii. p. 76. c.

[r] L. ii. c. 47, 48. 132, &c.

[s] Vid. Gen. xli. 8. Exod. vii. 11. Iſai. xix. 3. Herodot. l. ii. c. 49. Diodor. l. i. p. 66. d. Plutarch. de Iſide, p. 366. e. Porphyr. περὶ τῆς ἐκλογίου φιλοσοφίας, ap. Theodoret. Ser. iii. c. Graecos.

[t] Conf. Kircheri Oedip. Aegypt. To. iii. Synt. 19. L. Pignorium, Cuperum, & reliquos ſupra allegatos.

[u] Infantum etiam remediis ex cervice ſuſpenduntur. Plin. l. ii. c. 28. de Scarabaeis. Conf. Salmaſii Exercit. in Solin.

[w] Grandinem quoque avertere, et Locuſtas precatione addicta quam demonſtrant. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 9. p. 734. c.

ſeveral

ſeveral of the Scarabaei are very probably what Pliny takes to be the *prayers* that they *exhibit*. F. Kircher, who has given figures of ſeveral of theſe, has fixed a very different interpretation upon them [*x*]; but, indeed, neither he, nor Pliny, ſeem rightly to have underſtood any thing of them.

SUCH was the religion of Egypt; ſuch the practice there in things ſacred and divine. What judgement a man of ſenſe will paſs upon it, it is not difficult preſently to determine; nor will it be unſeaſonable to look a little into the ſentiments of the ancients, and what opinion thoſe who had been ſpectators and preſent, *e. gr.* the Perſians of old, the Greeks, Romans, and others, had of this matter. For the Perſians, they thought as meanly, and with as much ſcorn, of the Egyptian religion as could well be. So did the king himſelf, Cambyſes, who, in his deſcent into that country, ſtabbed the ox, Apis, with his own hands, and very juſtly *derided* the folly and ſtupidity of the *prieſts* [*y*] that attended him, in making choice of what he ſhewed them to be *fleſh* and *blood*, nay a meer brute, for their principal deity. He greatly *ridiculed* and *expoſed* their *idols* [*z*] as truly ſilly and deſpicable, beating ſeveral of them down, burning and deſtroying them. This was a thing reputed extremely flagitious by the prieſts there, and a very high profanation and ſacrilege. Nor had they any other way to revenge themſelves of him, but by giving out, after he had quitted the country and was gone, that he was diſtracted and ſtruck with a ſort of divine infatuation [*a*]. Which yet one of

[*x*] Oedip. Aegypt.

[*y*] Θωμάσας τὰς Ἐρίας, &c. Herodot. l. iii. c. 29.

[*z*] πολλὰ τῷ γλύμματι κατεγέλασε. ib. c. 37. & infra πολλὰ κατεσκώψας.

[*a*] Herodot. l. iii.

his

his ſucceſſors, Artaxerxes Ochus, ſo little regarded, that he did not ſtick, in like manner, to kill their brute idol, Apis: nay he offered him in ſacrifice, and finally with his friends and followers eat him up [*b*].

THE Greeks were ever forward to entertain a favourable opinion of the Egyptians. Indeed Egypt, being a very rich and plentiful country [*c*], was ſettled into a method of government and diſcipline, and ſome appearance there was of art there, ſome time before any conſiderable advance was made towards either in Greece. This Thales, Solon, Melampus, Homer, and others who firſt travelled thither, well obſerved, and returned back very full of the praiſes of the Egyptians, which was an encouragement to others to viſit that country, and it was thought a mighty accompliſhment in a Grecian to have made the tour of Egypt. To give them their due, the Egyptians were never wanting in ſetting their own affairs forth to advantage; and the Greeks were diſpoſed to credit all that was offered, and to make the beſt conſtructions of every thing they obſerved. So much, indeed, that in after-times, when the Greeks were become infinitely ſuperior to the Egyptians in knowledge, the former ſtudied to put a good cover and varniſh upon all deformities that occurred among the latter; and, whatever they found otherwiſe than was fit and reaſonable, they ever took care to ſet it in another light, to put ſome handſome gloſs upon it, and to repreſent it as it ought to be. This is ſo very evident throughout the whole narratives of Herodotus, Diodorus, and Plutarch, that no man can peruſe them without obſerving inſtances of it every where. A man of ſenſe will

[*b*] Plut. de Iſide, p. 355. c. 365. c. Aelian. var. Hiſt. l. iv. c. 8.
[*c*] Vide ſupra.

hardly

hardly have patience to read the tales and ſtories which the Egyptians told Plutarch [*d*] of their religion and their gods, Oſiris and Iſis, of Typhon and the reſt: they were ſo very wild, ridiculous, and abſurd, and withal ſo contradictory, that there could hardly poſſibly be one word of truth or probability in any of them. They apparently carry more of the air of dreams, or the rhapſodies of men under a frenzy or diſtraction, than of ſenſe or reality. This Plutarch ſaw well enough; but he caſts about to mend the matter, by ſuppoſing them to be, I know not what, diſguiſes and covers, of ſomewhat that was of different import and conſideration underneath. He interprets all theſe, as ſeveral later writers have done, myſtically and ſymbolically, and turns all they told him to a *natural* and *moral* meaning, ſuppoſing that the *natural hiſtory* of the *elements* and the formation of all ſorts of *bodies* were couched under that jargon. Whereas it is manifeſt from his own account that the Egyptians were ſerious, and their relations ſimple, nor did they intend any thing other than they plainly and openly declared. This he could not but ſee demonſtration of on every hand. What he obſerved in the next temple, at the next ſacrifice, the next proceſſion or religious ſolemnity, would give him proof enough of it; indeed, their whole religion was founded intirely upon it. Nay he is not able to deny but that, by their worſhiping *animals* as *gods*, they *not* only expoſed religion to ſcoffs and deriſion [*e*], but likewiſe laid a foundation for the moſt wretched ſort of *ſuperſtition* among the more ſimple and weak people, and of *Atheiſm* among thoſe that were hardy and bold. Nor can any

[*d*] Lib. de Iſide et Oſir.

[*e*] ὁ γέλως μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ μανίαις κατατρέχουσι τὰς ἱερουργίας. De Iſide, p. 379. c.

man well wonder that Diodorus, when he is relating the particulars of their religion, ſhould freely confeſs it was *difficult for thoſe who had not ſeen them to believe one who ſhould ſet them forth* (*f*); ſo very abſurd they appear through this whole account to be, and ſo different from what was then practiſed among the Greeks and other the moſt ſenſible and civilized nations.

Among the Romans the Egyptian religion was the common ſubject of mirth and raillery (*g*), and it was every where ſpoken and wrote of with the greateſt ſlight and contempt that could well be expreſſed (*h*). They thought it throughout very ſtrange and *portentous*; and the profeſſors of it nothing better than madmen (*i*). They were here reproached for having made gods of all the *monſters* in the univerſe, and for allowing temples to brutes, that ſtables and kennels would have befitted much better (*k*). To rank ſuch deities in the ſame claſs with thoſe of Rome was reputed there the higheſt effrontery and indignity (*l*). In fine, this of Egypt paſſed among the much more refined Romans for no other than a very *vain ſuperſtition* (*m*);

[*f*] Ἀπαγγείλαντα δὲ ψεύδηναι παρὰ τοῖς τεθεαμένοις δύσκολον. Diodor. l. i. p. 65. e.

[*g*] Aegyptiorum ridetis aenigmata, quod mutorum animantium formas nivinis inſeruerint cauſis, eaſdemque, quod ſpecies multo ture accipiant, et reliquo coeremoniarum paratu. Arnob. adv. Gentes, l. iii. p. 109.

[*h*] — Accepimus Iſin,—
Semideoſque Canes.—Lucan. viii. 831.

[*i*] —Qualia demens.
Aegyptus portenta colat.—Juven. Sat. xv.

[*k*] Omnigenumque Deum monſtra, et latrator Anubis.
Aeneid. l. viii. 698.

[*l*] Auſa Jovi noſtro latrantem opponere Anubin.--Propertius, L. iii. Eleg. xi, 41.

[*m*] Inter ſacrificulos vanae ſuperſtitionis. Suetonius in Domit. l. i. c. 1. p. 664. a.

and when, during his deſcent upon that country, a propoſal was made to Auguſtus of ſeeing their mighty deity, Apis, he abſolutely refuſed it, *ſaying, that he was wont to adore the gods, and not bulls* (*n*). And a perſon of great knowledge in thoſe times has delivered it as his *opinion* concerning their doctrines of *amulets*, that it could not but meet with *ſcorn* and laughter from all mankind (*o*).

BUT the ancient Chriſtians, and ſacred writers in particular, ſhew every where ſtill higher reſentments of *this* worſhip. They repreſent it under a character very hateful, and the people, upon account of it, as utterly relinquiſhed, and given up to the worſt of immoralities, though very highly opinionated of themſelves all the while, and, in their wonted manner, full of their own *Wiſdom*. *They became vain in their imaginations, and their fooliſh heart was darkened. Profeſſing themſelves to be wiſe they became fools, and changed the glory of the uncorruptible god into an image made like to corruptible man, and to birds, and four-footed beaſts, and creeping things. Wherefore God gave them up to uncleanneſs* (*p*), to which this nation was very greatly and unhappily addicted. It had ſpread quite beyond private converſe, and ſhewed itſelf in a very infamous manner, even in their religious and moſt public ſolemnities. In truth, it was not ſtrange it ſhould extend to them, ſince the people was abandoned to it as a puniſhment for the ſtupid idolatry that was carried on in thoſe ſolemnities. And this was ſeverely cenſured by the fathers, and other ancient eccleſiaſtical writers. But more eſpecially by the apologiſts for Chriſtianity. For theſe

[*n*] Λέξαν Θεὸς ἀλλ' οὐχὶ βοῦς προσκυνεῖν εἰθεῖσαι. Dio Caſſ. l. li. p. 520. c.

[*o*] Quae quidem eos ſcripſiſſe non ſine contemtu et irriſu generis humani arbitror. Plin. l. xxxvii. c. 9. p. 734. d.

[*p*] Rom. i. 21, 22, 23.

were

were obliged particularly to examine and look into the errors and corruptions of Paganiſm. And they every where repreſent the Egyptian theology as the moſt ſenſeleſs and enormous of any in the univerſe. For this reaſon it was that Athenagoras[q], Tatian [r], Theophilus Antiochenus [s], Origen [t], Theodoret [u], Minutius Felix [x], Tertullian [y], and the reſt, inſiſt ſo frequently, and lay ſo much ſtreſs upon it. They pitch upon this as notorioufly abſurd: and by much the moſt liable to be expoſed of any in all the whole Pagan world. Nor were Julian, Celſus, and the other advocates of Paganiſm, on any occaſion ſo put to it, as to defend the Egyptian religion. Clemens Alexandrinus's ſatyr upon it is excellent. He ſets forth the grandeur of their *temples*, the ſtatelineſs of the *porticoes*, the beauty of the *groves* about them, the walls of the temples *painted* and adorned with *gold*, *ſilver*, and great variety of *precious ſtones*, and the *adyta* hung with *gold brocades*. But when in expectation of ſomething anſwerably great and extraordinary within, any one comes to look in the *penetralia*, the prieſt, with much gravity, and a great deal of preface und ceremony firſt paſt, drawing back the *curtain*, ſhews a *cat*, or perhaps a *crocodile*, or a *ſerpent* lying upon a *purple carpet*, an object much more likely to excite laughter [z] than devotion. In like

[q] Apologia.
[r] Orat. ad Graecos.
[s] Ad Autolicum.
[t] Contra Celſum, l. i. p. 16.
[u] Ἑλλην. παθ. Serm. iv. p. 51.
[x] Octavius.
[y] Apolog. c. 6.
[z] Δείξων τὰν θεὸν παλάτυν ἡμῖν, ἐνδίδωσι γελωτὰς ζεέχυμαΐδ. Clem. Alexandr. παιδαγ. l. iii. c. 2. p. 216.

manner Arnobius [*a*] expoſtulates with the Pagans for their charging every *public calamity* upon the *Chriſtians* as inflicted by the gods out of indignation to their religion, at the ſame time that there were among themſelves the moſt *lofty* and *magnificent temples* in Egypt dedicated to *cats, beetles, and bullocks, whilſt the deities they ridiculed* were perfectly *ſilent* in that caſe, *and not at all offended that they beheld the divinities of the vileſt animals ranked with theirs.*

NOR had the prophetic, and the other writers among the Jews, better thoughts of this matter. No, they pronounce theſe ways of worſhip *wicked abominations*; and particularly that of paying a regard to any image or *form of creeping things, and abominable beaſts* or any *idols* [*b*]. And afterwards; *Thus ſaith the Lord God, I will deſtroy the Idols, and I will cauſe their images to ceaſe out of Noph*, in the land of Egypt [*c*]. Much to the ſame purpoſe likewiſe elſewhere; *I will kindle a fire in the houſes* or temples *of the Gods of Egypt*, and *break alſo the images of Egypt* [*d*]. Nay, the makers and adorers of the *Molten Calf* in the Wilderneſs are ſaid to have ſunk themſelves into a ſtate beneath that of the reſt of mankind, even the level of brutes; *to have changed their glory into the ſimilitude of an ox that eateth graſs, and forgot god* [*e*]. The hiſtorical and ſecular writers among the Jews had likewiſe the very ſame ſentiments of the Egyptian theology, and every were ſpeak

[*a*] Templa felibus, ſcarabaeis, et buculis, ſublimibus ſunt elata faſtigiis; ſilent in illis numinum poteſtates, nec livore afficiuntur ullo quod ſibi comparatas animantium vilium conſpiciunt ſanctitates. Adv. Gent l. i. p. 15. e.

[*b*] Ezech. viii. 9, 10.

[*c*] Ibid. xxx. 13.

[*d*] Jerem. xliii. 12, 13.

[*e*] Pſalm cvi. 19, 20, 21.

with

with as much ſlight and reſentment of it. Particularly Joſephus, who reproaches the Egyptians for making *bulls*, *goats*, *crocodiles*, *and cynocephali*, *their chief Gods* [*f*], and for aſcribing ſo great *honour and power*, even to creatures the moſt noxious and venomous, ſuch as crocodiles and aſps [*g*]. In like manner Philo expoſes their ſtupidity and impiety. He declares that *no one who had* himſelf *any ſoul could* ever be brought to *adore brutes* that aſſuredly had none [*h*], as was daily practiſed all over *Egypt*. But their worſhiping of the worſt and moſt uſeleſs of animals, nay thoſe too that are the moſt offenſive and injurious to mankind, as the *lion* the *fierceſt* of all the creatures at *land*, and the *crocodile* the moſt *cruel* of any that are produced in the *water*, nay *dogs*, cats, and *wolves*, as ſo many *gods*, cannot, he thinks, ever be mentioned to a man of ſenſe without exciting ſcorn and laughter [*i*]. He avers that *ſtrangers*, when they firſt came into Egypt, were ever greatly ſhocked and ſurprized at the follies they could not but ſee wherever they went. And men of better *education* were wont to ſtand *amazed* to ſee the *honours* that were paid to the vileſt of all creatures; nor could they forbear *pitying* and deſpiſing ſuch devotees, thinking them more ſenſeleſs than the brutes they adored, and nothing better than *beaſts* in ſhape of men [*k*].

But the preſent queſtion is concerning Moſes; and what his opinion was of the Egyptian religion. For the reſt of the

[*f*] Contra Apion. l. i. p. 1054. c.

[*g*] Honorem, Poteſtatem, Crocodilis et Aſpidibus. Rufinus Joſephi interpres, c. Apion. l. ii. p. 1065. i.

[*h*] Ἀψύχῳ. De Decalogo. 755.

[*i*] Ibid.

[*k*] Ἀνθρωποειδῆ θηρία. Ibid.

Jewiſh

Jewiſh writers, both the ſacred and ſecular, we have ſeen how ſeverely they cenſured it; and how vain, impious, and flagitious, they and the Chriſtians of old thought it. Nay, the very Pagans themſelves ſpeak generally of it with full as much ſlight and contempt as either. They every where expoſe it as ridiculous and abſurd in all its parts; and declare that the profeſſors of it act rather like people in a frenzy, or diſtraction, than as rational and intelligent men; ſo that the voice of all mankind beſides has gone clearly and unanimouſly againſt them. As to Moſes, no man was ever a better judge of men; or had a truer taſte of things. For proof of this, we need look no further than to the moral characters extant in his works: theſe are drawn with a ſpirit and maſtery very extraordinary and uncommon. Every thing in them is truly fine, touching, and natural, beyond any thing I ever met with elſewhere. His hiſtorical relations are as exact; every where clear, ſtrong, and ſimple. It is apparent he was thoroughly ſkilled in all the knowledge of thoſe ages and nations. He was alſo born in this very country, bred there, and *educated* [*a*] from his infancy *in all the wiſdom of the Egyptians*. Indeed he much ſurpaſſed his tutors, and improved vaſtly upon their learning; as will preſently be evident to any one that ſhall compare the body of morals, of laws, and of policy, he has left us, with thoſe of that nation. His having lived ſo long there, and in the court too, gave all the oportunities that could be wiſhed of underſtanding their worſhip thoroughly, and informing himſelf fully of all particulars of it: in fine, he was abundantly capacitated every way to make a right eſtimate and judgement of it. He could not avoid obſerving on every ſide what was the moſt fantaſtic, extravagant, and even prophane, going on under a

[*a*] Παιδεύθη. Act. vii. 22.

notion

notion of religion. He muſt needs ſee them, in all places, with the greateſt oſtentation and ceremony, paying the higheſt adorations to things that were rather to be deſpiſed, feared, and hated. He beheld them worſhiping almoſt all objects of their ſenſes; the ſun, the moon, and other bodies, in the *heavens above*; brutes, ſerpents, inſects, leeks, onions, and other vegetables, *on the earth beneath*; crocodiles, and fiſhes, in the *water*: as alſo images and repreſentations of all of them. In fine, they pa da worſhip to every thing that a wiſe and good man would avoid worſhiping; but none at all to that great and wiſe Being from whom all thoſe things, and even they themſelves, proceeded, to whom they owed all the good and happineſs they enjoyed, and was indeed the true and proper object of their worſhip: him they ſeem to have little known or regarded. *They worſhiped and ſerved the Creature more than the Creator, who is bleſſed for ever* [*b*]; being under an univerſal *blindneſs* and ignorance *of the true God, by reaſon of their beſtowing ſo great a veneration upon created beings* [*c*], that were equally *blind*; and without any capacity or power of anſwering their petitions. After which, nobody can think ſtrange, that even Pharaoh their king himſelf, being told of the *Lord God*, ſhould enquire *who is the Lord* [*d*]? Nay, it was a long time after this, that it was propheſied, *there ſhall be an altar to the Lord in the midſt of the land of Egypt* [*e*], where were raiſed many thouſands to brutes, to beings both animate and inanimate, but not one to *God* the

[*b*] Rom. i. 25. Conf. ver. 22. and 23.

[*c*] Ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ—τυφλωτλάσης περὶ τὸν ἀληθῆ θεὸν, ἕνεκα τῆς γενέσεως καὶ τυφλῆς θεοπλανήσεως. Philo. L. de Joſepho. p. 562. d.

[*d*] Exod. v. 12.

[*e*] Iſaiah xix. 19.

author

author of all; and then *the Egyptians ſhall know the Lord* [*f*] In conſequence of this ignorance of God, and that ſenſeleſs devotion to the moſt abſurd idols that ever appeared, they were poſſeſſed with a turn of mind the moſt ſtupid and depraved; and were the moſt corrupt and diſſolute in their manners that could well be. Nay, and all the while they were the moſt poſitive in their ways, had the higheſt perſuaſion of their own wiſdom, and were the fartheſt from a temper capable of being wrought upon and taught better, of any people upon earth. So that Moſes's drift and buſineſs was to call and reſcue the Iſraelites out from among them; and draw them wholly off from the cuſtoms of Egypt, and what they had ſeen tranſacted there. In order to this, he enjoins them the worſhip of *only God* [*g*], the ſource and origin of all things, who was totally neglected in Egypt; and forbids the worſhip of *images* of *things* in *heaven*, the *earth*, and the *waters* [*h*], which was ſolemnly practiſed here. He ſuffers them not to *enquire how the nations ſerve their gods*, nor to *do ſo unto the Lord*; *for every abomination to the Lord which he hateth, have they done unto their gods* [*i*]. He totally diſapproves of the Pagan worſhip; and of all the

[*f*] Iſai. xix. 21.

[*g*] Decalogue Praecept. i. Exod. xx. Conf. Manethon. ap. Joſeph. i. c. Apion, p. 1053. a.

[*h*] Ib. Praecept. ii. The Jewiſh nation had been ſo exact in their obſervance *of this precept*, and ſo much avoided the uſe of images, that none among them ſeem to have had any ſkill in imagery; nor ſo much underſtood any thing of the art of caſting of metals; inſomuch, that Solomon was obliged to ſend abroad for one that lived in Phoenicia, a country where imagery was as much in uſe as in Egypt. For the figures employed for the adorning of the temple, and the molten ſea, were all caſt and wrought by Hiram, the ſon of a Jewiſh widow, bred in Tyre, if not born there. 1 Kings, c. vii.

[*i*] Deuteron. xii. 30. 31.

rites,

rites, cuſtoms, and ceremonies, of it. In the wilderneſs he charges them, *Walk ye not in the ſtatutes* and practices *of your fathers in Egypt; neither obſerve their judgements, nor defile yourſelves with their idols* [k]. Idolatry was, indeed, the great, general, and leading error and unhappineſs of Egypt. This, therefore, Moſes precautions the Iſraelites of, and arms them againſt it in the firſt place; which was no more than was needful, ſince they had been ſo habituated to it in Egypt [l]. And, indeed, they retained a very ſtrong bent and diſpoſition to it even afterwards; as, to paſs by others, we ſee by the inſtance of the *molten calf*; in the worſhiping of which they are ſaid to have *forgot God* [m], and *turned out of the way that he commanded them* [n], for which they were ſeverely puniſhed [o]. In like manner, the law that enjoins the *ſacrificing of a red heifer* [p], and that which forbids the *planting of any trees near unto the altar of the Lord* [q], that againſt the *uſe of enchantments* [r], and that relating to the *cutting off the hair of the prieſts* [s], are all apparently levelled againſt the contrary cuſtoms of the Egyptians in thoſe reſpects. Moſes, having thus ſettled the conſtitution as to things ſacred, deſcends next to thoſe that concern human and civil affairs, and particularly gives directions for mutual ſociety, and for the ſecuring of private

[k] Ezek. xx. 18.
[l] Ibid. ver. 7. 18. Conf. Euſeb. Prep. Evang. l. vii. c. 8.
[m] Pſalm cvi. 21. Conf. Philon. de Vita Moſ. p. 677. c.
[n] Exod. xxxii. 8.
[o] Ibid. ver. 32.
[p] Numb. xix. 5. Spencer. de Legg. l. ii. c. 15. ſect. 2.
[q] Deut. xvi. 21. Vid. Spen. ib. c. 16.
[r] Levit. xix. 26. 31.
[s] Ezek. xliv. 20. V. Spen. ib. c. 25. ſect. 2. et Philon. Jud. de Circumciſ. p. 810. c.

right. He forbids *adultery* and *theft*, both which were in too frequent practice among the Egyptians. And whereas it was a law and ſettled cuſtom there, *contrary to the common method of the reſt of mankind, to marry with their own ſiſters* [*t*], Moſes, in direct oppoſition to it [*u*], enjoins the Iſraelites, *None of you ſhall approach to any that is akin to him to uncover their nakedneſs*; and in particular, *the nakedneſs of thy ſiſter thou ſhalt not uncover* [*x*]. So likewiſe he forbids the *promiſcuous* uſe of the ſame garments to *men* and *women* indifferently [*y*]; becauſe that, among many other things that were very undecent and unfit, was practiſed in Egypt. In a word, that he might effectually intercept all intercourſe and communication with Egypt, and diſtance his Iſraelites as far from the manners of that country as was poſſible, he peremptorily commands them not to imitate that nation in any thing whatever, but relinquiſh all the religious obſervances they had ever ſeen in uſe there. And that they ſhould have no pretext for adhering to any of them, becauſe he might not have given an expreſs detail of each, he leaves with them this general charge, *After the doings of the land of Egypt, wherein ye dwelt, ſhall ye not do; neither ſhall ye walk in their ordinances. Ye ſhall do my judgements and keep my ordinances, to walk therein; I am the Lord your God* [*z*]; where there is a conſiderable difference alſo implied, and a plain mark

[*t*] Νομίζουσι δέ φασι τοῖς Αἰγυπτίοις παρὰ τὸ κοινὸν ἔθος τῶν ἄλλων ἀνθρώπων, γαμεῖν ἀδελφάς. Diodor. l. i. p. 23. c. Conf. Sext. Empir. Πυῤῥον. ὑποτ. l. iii. c. 24. p. 158. b.

[*u*] Uti Philo Jud. de Legib. p. 779. b. 780. a.

[*x*] Levit. xviii. 6. 9. Conf. 2 Sam. xiii. 12.

[*y*] Deuter. xxii. 5. Conf. Witſii Aegypt. l. iii. c. 14. ſect. 7. et Spencer, l. ii. c. 17.

[*z*] Levit. xviii. 3, 4

of

of diſtinction offered betwixt thoſe ordinances, and theſe now promulgated by this great legiſlator.

It is therefore moſt apparent, that Moſes was utterly averſe to the Egyptian conſtitution, and very far from deriving any thing thence to be added to the Jewiſh. But yet ſome there have been, who, not duly attending to this, and obſerving an agreement betwixt them in ſome particulars, have thought all theſe were originally of Egyptian extract. St. Jerom, taking notice of the inſtance of Melchiſedec, and that there were prieſts among the Pagans before the time of the Moſaic eſtabliſhment, imagines that the *Jews had their prieſthood from the Gentiles* [*a*]: which yet is expreſsly contrary to the tenor of holy writ; where a mighty difference is put betwixt *the prieſts of the Lord, and the prieſts after the manner of the nations*; the latter being not rightly ordained and *conſecrated*, and therefore no prieſts; as their gods are pronounced no gods [*b*]. S. Chryſoſtom will have it, that all the Jewiſh rites, their ſacrifices, purifications, feſtivals at the new moons, the ark, and even the temple itſelf, had their original from Greece [*c*]; an aſſertion the moſt precipitate and ill-grounded that could ever have fallen from any man; the Greeks being, at the time that theſe rites were inſtituted among the Jews, in a ſtate of barbarity, and no ways conſiderable: nor was there any manner of intercourſe betwixt them and the Jews till many ages afterwards. Polidore Vergil thinks it *probable*, that the *tonſure* of the *Nazarenes* [*d*], and ſeveral of the *ornaments of the prieſts* among the *Jews*,

[*a*] Judaei à gentibus Sacerdotium acceperint. Epiſt. ad. Evagr.

[*b*] 2 Chron. xiii. 9.

[*c*] Ἰουδαϊκὰ πάντα καὶ τὰς Οὐσίας, καὶ καθαρμοὺς, &c. ἐξ ἑλληνικῆς ταῦτα πανχύτηλος ἔλαβε τὴν ἀρχήν. Hom. 6. in Math.

[*d*] De Invent. rerum, l. iv. c. 8.

particularly the *linen veſtments* [e], might be *derived* from *Egypt.* Nay, the learned Grotius himſelf, is not averſe to believe the ſame of ſome of the *rites* uſed about *ſacrifices*, and the prohibition of certain *animals* and *meats* in the Hebrew law [f]. Of late a very great man of our own nation [g] has made a collation of ſeveral Jewiſh and Egyptian obſervances; and he is inclinable to believe they had their firſt riſe in Egypt. Though, ſince that cannot be made out with any certainty, he offers his thoughts, in his uſual manner, as with abundance of good ſenſe, ſo with great modeſty; and leaves the determination of the affair much to the judgement of his reader.

BUT Doctor Spencer hath, ſince, carried the matter a great deal further. For, though he allows that the Moſaic *law was given as a guard and barrier again idolatry* [h]; and that ſeveral parts of it were framed in *oppoſition* to ſome *cuſtoms* that had obtained among the *Zabii* [i], the *Phoenicians*, and other people bordering upon Judea; yea, and ſome few in *oppoſition* to certain practices of the Egyptians [k]; yet he aſſerts, that *God tolerated and transferred not a few of the rites that were in uſe among the Pagans, into his own law and worſhip, after he had corrected and reformed them* [l]. But, in regard the *Iſraelites* had

[e] De Invent. rerum, l. iv. c. 7.

[f] Not. ad Levit. i. 9. et xii. 3.

[g] *Sir John Marſham.* Manifeſte aliquas diſciplinae Aegyptiacae reliquias non immerito ſuſpicari poſſumus. Chronicus Canon. ad Sec. 9. p. 149. et ſeqq. agens de Ebraeis.

[h] Legem praecipue in remedium Idololatriae traditam. De Legibus Hebraeorum, l. i. c. 1. ſect. 2.

[i] Ib. l. ii. c. 2. et alibi.

[k] Ib. l. ii. c. 15. ſect. 2. et l. ii. c. 25.

[l] Deum ritus non paucos, inter Gentes uſitatos, emandaſſe, toleraſſe, et in Legem cultumque ſuum tranſtuliſſe. Praef. vol. ii. p. 5. Differt. 1.

lived *many years* in *Egypt*, had been long accuſtomed to the manners of that country, were very *fond of them*, and withal *rude*, *ignorant*, *obſtinate*, and very *ſuperſtitious* [*m*], *it was almoſt neceſſary that God ſhould indulge them the uſe of ſome of the ancient rites, and accommodate his ſanctions to their taſte and capacity* [*n*]; *God* therefore *allowed* them, and *reſerved* for their law *very many of the Egyptian uſages*; *eſpecially thoſe, that by their pompous appearance and ſhew were like to pleaſe and take with the populace* [*o*]. And this Doctor Spencer thinks the more likely, becauſe, ſays he, *it is moſt certain that the Egyptians, long before the time of Moſes, had a great reputation abroad both for religion and ſcience* [*p*]; and were a *people* endued *with admirable manners, and a very fine* genius and *capacity* [*q*]. Whereas the *Hebrews*, he avers, were a *people rude, barbarous* [*r*], *and deſtitute of almoſt all manner of learning, ignorant of all the genteeler arts, and hardly knowing any thing beyond the bricks* they were trained to the making of, *and the garlick of Egypt* [*s*]. For which reaſon, he tell us, they *were reputed, among not only the Egyptians but likewiſe the other nations in their neighbourhood, the vileſt and moſt deſpicable of any thing that ever went upon two legs* [*t*].

[*m*] L. iii. c. 11. p. 107, 108.

[*n*] Deo penè neceſſe eſſet—rituum aliquorum veterum uſum iis indulgere, et illius inſtituta ad eorum normam et modulum accommodare, l. iii. c. 11. p. 107. a.

[*o*] Deus itaque ritus Aegypti plurimos ſplendore praeſertim aliquo plebem faſcinantes, Iſraelitis conceſſit et conſervavit. l. iii. c. 2. ſect. 2. p. 16. d.

[*p*] Clare patet, Aegyptios, durante Moſis tempore, Religionis aeque ac Scientiae fama claruiſſe, l. iii. c. 2. ſect. 2. p. 16. e.

[*q*] Aegyptii, moribus et ingenio eleganti populus, l. iii. c. 4. ſect. 2. p. 392. c.

[*r*] Populo, barbaro, rudi, &c. l. iii. c. 11. p. 108. e.

[*s*] Hebraei, omni pene Literatura diſtituti: artium humaniorum rudes, et vix quicquam ſupra lateres et allium Aegypti ſapuiſſe, l. iii. c. 11. p. 128. c.

[*t*] Iſraelitae non apud Aegyptios tantum, ſed et alias e vicinia gentes, bipedum viliſſimi et deſpicatiſſimi habebantur, l. iii. c. 2. ſect. 2. p. 17. b.

Nay,

Nay, they were hardly ever mentioned by any of them, without contempt; as if *they had thought the Jews*, like ſo *many monkies*, *born only to make the* world *mirth* and diverſion [*u*]: of ſo coarſe *a mould was the whole nation of the Hebrews made, and removed ſo very ſmall a degree from the diſpoſition of brutes* [*x*]. What title the Egyptians had to this ſplendid character, appears pretty ſufficiently from what has been ſhewn above. As little ground was there for treating the Jews with all this ſcorn and reproach; and caſting ſo many indignities upon them. But there was here an hypotheſis to be maintained; and every thing muſt be made to ſuit and comply with it. The Egyptians were to paſs for the authors and inventors of all the opinions and cuſtoms that obtained in common betwixt the two nations: and the Jews as mere imitators and copiers after them. That this might appear the more probable, the former muſt be repreſented as a learned and wiſe people; but the other as illiterate, ſtupid, and very little ſuperior to brutes. It is true, the Jews, during the laſt years of their abode in Egypt, met with but ill treatment there; and the meaner part of the nation were held to very hard labour and mean employments by the Egyptians, under whoſe government they were [*y*]: which they were ſo far from wanting due ſenſe and reſentment of, that upon it the whole body of the people quitted and withdrew themſelves out of the country. Having thus aſſerted, and regained their liberty, in a few years they began to diſcover all the marks of the original genius and ſpirit of their anceſtors. They attained

[*u*] Quaſi Judaeos, ſimiarum ad inſtar, ad riſum ſolummodo movendum natos exiſtimarent. ib.

[*x*] E luto tam craſſo ficta erat Hebraeorum Natio, et a brutorum indole tam exiguo remota intervallo. l. iii. c. 1. ſect. 1. p. 321. a.

[*y*] Exod. c. 1. et ſeqq.

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to a mighty maſtery in all the arts of peace and war, and became a very great and powerful people. By the time of the reign of Solomon, they had extended their empire over a conſiderable part of the eaſt, and were much ſuperior to any nation then upon earth, as well in knowledge, learning, and humanity, as riches, grandeur, and empire. But as little reaſon as there was for the framing ſuch an idea of this nation as Dr. Spencer has done, no ſooner did his work come abroad but it pleaſed and took mightily with ſome, inſomuch that it became a faſhion to ridicule the Jews, ſlight the Moſaic oeconomy, and repreſent it as only copied and moulded after the pattern of the Gentiles.

In particular a perſon of great abilities and diſtinction unhappily ſuggeſted, that the Moſaic account of the creation was drawn up only to oblige the Jews with a *coſmogonia*, in imitation of thoſe of their neighbours the *Egyptians*, *Phœnicians*, and *Chaldæans* [*z*], all whom the Jews were wont greatly to admire, of which he offers not the leaſt proof; nor indeed does it any where appear, that there was ſo much as one ſingle ſcheme of that ſort in being among any of thoſe nations for very many ages after that was ſet forth. Indeed he mentions *aſtronomical obſervations among the Chaldees before ever Moſes was born* [*a*]; and that he was only a ſtudent in *the Egyptian wiſdom* and learning of which their *Thoyth* was the author [*b*]. It is pity he had not given ſome proofs of thoſe early obſervations, or that *Thoyth* lived before Moſes. This I am ſure, the accounts of *Thoyth's* writings are ſo fabulous and inconſiſtent, that it may juſtly be doubted whether ever he wrote any thing at all; and it is certain that

[*z*] Burnet, Archæolog. Philoſoph. p. 313. a. Conf. p. 333. c.
[*a*] Ib. p. 195. c.
[*b*] Ib. p. 78. c. 193. d.

ſome

ſome that have paſſed under his name, were forged, and could not be his. As to this wiſdom of the Egyptians, of which he ſpeaks ſo often, if it were ſuch as either their own works of all ſorts, or the accounts of the Greeks, ſet forth, we may be very poſitive Moſes would be far from copying any thing of it. And for the Gentil-*Coſmogonias*, it is much more probable that, if not remains of the old tradition, they were only framed out of ſome ſcattered and imperfect particles of the Moſaic relation ill put together, that were handed out of Judea to the countries round it, and at length through Phoenicia into Greece. Nor is this very learned Archaeologiſt more ſingular in his notion of the deſign and occaſion of compiling the hiſtory of the creation, than of the execution and performance of it. He is very poſitive that the author acted more the part of a politician in the compoſure, than of a philoſopher, and choſe rather to ſuit it to the capacity of the people than to nature, and the true ſtate of things, from which he would perſuade us Moſes has in ſeveral reſpects receded, in order to the accommodating of it to their notions [*c*]. And what his judgement of their capacity was he has indeed not been wanting to ſet forth very fully. He ſays they paſſed among the Gentiles *for a people very vile* and of no manner *of reckoning* [*d*] or worth. It would indeed not be ſtrange they ſhould, if it were certain, as he avers, that the *Iſraelitiſh nation* was *ignorant* and *ſtupid* [*e*], that their genius was *ſluggiſh and rude, their diſpoſition groſs and dull, and ſuch as was neither fitted for the contemplation of natural things, nor the perception of thoſe*

[*c*] L. ii. c. 8.
[*d*] Pro inquilinis, vilibus, & nullius numeri, p. 43. c.
[*e*] Ignarum, hebetemque, p. 121. d.

that

that were divine [*f*]. He will have *the condition of this people to be half barbarous, unpoliſhed above all the reſt of mankind* [*g*]. For he is *of opinion, that all the antient nations* beſides *were poſſeſſed of ſome ſort of wiſdom* that was peculiar to them and kept *private* [*h*] among them; but he will not allow any thing of the like ſort to the Jews. And, of all thoſe nations, none ſtand ſo fair in his eſteem as the Egyptians. He extolls them much, both as a people very ancient and likewiſe much renowned for their wiſdom [*i*]: and thinks their knowledge of things, both divine and natural, very great [*k*]. He gives us to underſtand, that the *Greeks* of old were wont to have recourſe to this country as a ſchool of philoſophers, and a fountain of the more divine ſort of literature [*l*]. Nothing could ever be poſſibly higher than this, nothing more to the commendation of the Egyptians; whilſt he declares of the poor Hebrew nation, that their *ſervitude* in Egypt had ſtript them *not only of their manners and diſcipline, but of almoſt common humanity itſelf. They were*, he ſays, *a meer rabble of people, a company of ſlaves, lately brought out of Egyptian work-houſes, who were poſſeſſed of no arts, beſides the making of bricks, of no manner of learning, of no culture of mind* [*m*]. In

[*f*] Tardum et rude ingenium, craſſam hebetemque fuiſſe populi iſtius indolem; neque rebus naturalibus contemplandis aut divinis percipiendis idoneam, p. 332. d. Conf. p. 330. a.

[*g*] Prae caeteris, hujuſce populi inculta & ſemibarbara erat conditio, p. 333. c.

[*h*] Omnes antiquae gentes, ſaltem ex ſententia noſtra, ſapientiae cujuſdam reconditae cuſtodes eſſent, p. 43.

[*i*] Populus enim Aegyptius et perantiquus eſt, et percelebris ſapientia, p. 71.

[*k*] Tanta rerum divinarum et naturalium cognitio, p. 90.

[*l*] Philoſophorum ſcholam et divinioris literaturae fontem, p. 72.

[*m*] Servitus non ſolum mores et diſciplinam, ſed tantum non ipſam humanitatem exuerat. Erat colluvies quaedam hominum: coetus mancipiorum ex Ergaſtulis Aegyptiacis nudiuſtertius edu&ctorum. Qui nullas arte, praeter latericiam: nullas literas, nullum animi cultum, poſſidebant, p. 333.

fine he thinks ſtill as meanly of them afterwards when they came to be ſettled in Paleſtine, and formed into a government. *The ſchools and academies that were of old among them were not*, he ſays, *like ours at this day, ſo much framed and diſpoſed for the ſtudies of human learning*, that are aſſuredly of the higheſt importance in life, in rightly forming the mind, and laying a foundation of good-manners, *as for the imbibing and* acquiring the *inſtitutes of religion, and the gift of prophecy. For*, he adds, *no nation throughout the whole world ever abounded ſo much with prophets and perſons inſpired with an heavenly ſpirit as the Jews; inſomuch that there ſeemed to have been ſome kind of divine power inherent in their ſoil and climate* [*n*]. That men, ſo much ſtrangers to good literature and good ſenſe, and ſo little fit to promote any thing of worth or uſe, ſhould be ſo exactly well fitted to make *prophets*, and that a *divine power* ſhould be the production of ſome certain particular *ſoils* and *climates*, are notions that I am unwilling to meddle with. But I think, upon the whole, it is pretty plain how heartily this learned writer is entered into the meaſures lately mentioned, of applauding the Egyptians and decrying the Jews; with what juſtice, on either ſide, appears ſufficiently from what has been offered above. It were indeed to have been wiſhed, that they, who have been thus free of their declamations againſt the Jewiſh nation, had with no leſs freedom laid before the world the reaſons upon which they were founded. I know very well the chronicles and annals of that

[*n*] Quae autem apud ipſos erant ſcholae et academiae priſtinae non tam ad Encyclopaediae ſtudia, ut ſolent hodiè, formatae & compoſitae erant, quam ad religionis inſtituta, & dona prophetica imbibenda. Nulla enim gens per terrarum orbem, nullus populus, tantum abundabat Prophetis, ac viris ea[illegible]i ſpiritu tactis, quantum Judaei: ut ipſi ſolo & climati vis aliqua divina inhaeſiſſe videretur, p. 44. a.

nation,

nation, amongſt ſeveral of their princes who were really great and illuſtrious patterns of wiſdom and virtue, have tranſmitted down accounts of others who had indeed too much of blemiſh and ſully in their character. But this was not the caſe of Judea alone; ſo far from it, that the hiſtories of the kings of the neighbouring countries all round ſhew too many of like if not worſe character. Nay the very vileſt of them have been vaſtly out-done by ſome of the emperors, and thoſe that were at the head of affairs among the Romans, who yet were allowed of all hands to have been a truly brave, wiſe, and great people. Nor were the kings the only perſons in Judea that were to blame. No; the prophetical and other writers of that nation, addreſſing themſelves to the people there, frequently expoſtulate with them likewiſe, as obſtinate and perverſe, as violators of their laws, and regardleſs of their religion, as guilty of many crimes, vices, and immoralities: for which accuſations, in truth, there was but too great cauſe. This, with what is pointed forth above relating to their princes, and ſome reproaches of the Pagans, of which more in due place, is all I can poſſibly gueſs thoſe gentlemen could have to offer in favour of theſe invectives. But their notices and views of mankind are very ſhort, if they did not know that the charge, which is thus brought againſt the Jews, is applicable, with equal truth, to all ages and all nations in the world. Such is the unhappy ſtate of human nature, that there never was any time, nor any country, where was not like occaſion of complaint of great degeneracy and corruption againſt ſome, and perhaps great numbers; but it would be very hard and injurious to think all that lived in thoſe ages, or the whole body of thoſe nations, were implied, or alike involved and concerned in that charge. Should any reader extend the ſatyre he meets with in ſome of the antient poets, or

the invectives of the hiſtories of the founders of the ſeveral religious orders, to every individual man then living, or imagine the characters extant in ſome Spaniſh, French, and Engliſh ſermons, ſuited to the whole body of the people of thoſe three kingdoms; all mankind would pronounce him utterly in the wrong, and the judgement thus paſſed very prepoſterous. And it is but fit we give the Jews the ſame quarter, and allow them the ſame claim of right, we do to all other nations under Heaven. As to Dr. Burnet's idea of the Moſaic hiſtory of the creation, it is inconteſtable, that an account of things that was framed on purpoſe to ſuit underſtandings that were ſo very mean and clumſy as he repreſents thoſe of the Jews, muſt be in itſelf as mean and clumſy. And ſuch accordingly, with a great deal of wit, art, and pains, that learned writer has gone about to perſuade the world this of Moſes is. He has left no ſtone unturned, nor any thing unattempted, that might conduce to that purpoſe. Nay, he has once more called forth the baffled ſarcaſms of even the avowed enemies of Moſes, Julian, Celſus, and Simplicius [*o*], upon this occaſion, and brought them upon the ſtage anew. But here likewiſe, as in Dr. Spencer's caſe, was an hypotheſis to be maintained; which the Moſaic account comporting very ill with, the authority and certainty of that was to be ſhaken, to make way for the eſtabliſhment of this. All means were to be uſed that might conduce to that purpoſe, and every thing ſtruck down that did not rightly ſquare and comport with it.

HE had before taken the liberty to recede from what Moſes had delivered concerning the form and ſtructure, the ſituation, the conſtitution, and the productions of the primitive earth; and

[*o*] P. 280. 296. 325. 349.

repreſented

repreſented ſuch a deluge as that deſcribed by the ſame hiſtorian, as really impoſſible. Now in truth, had things been ſo, and Moſes found erroneous in his phyſiology, we could with no reaſon or ſecurity ever have relied upon him in matters hiſtorical, moral, and religious; of which, at this diſtance, we have not the like means of information. And all know how great a ſuperſtructure is raiſed upon his foundation, which would aſſuredly have been in a very ſhaken and tottering condition, had his accounts of nature proved erroneous, and ſuch as this learned theoriſt has repreſented them. We are now able to examine and paſs judgement of thoſe accounts, by bringing them to the teſt of nature, which indeed has been fairly done [*p*], and they have every where ſtood trial, as conſtantly as that theory where it differs from them have failed. It has been ſhewn that the deluge was in every particular ſuch as Moſes has ſet forth, and that there are at this day evidences in nature which make out the truth and certainty of every individual article of his narration, ſo as to put the whole quite out of doubt [*q*]; as alſo that the condition of the earth before was in all reſpects apparently the ſame that Moſes hath deſcribed, and that wherever this learned Theoriſt has differed from him, he hath as apparently departed from nature and the true ſtate of things [*r*].

What was thus advanced being founded entirely upon obſervation and fact, all ſober and intelligent men conſider this affair as fixed and ſettled; and even ſome who were no great friends to the Moſaic hiſtory, very ingenuouſly admitted thoſe proofs, quitted their exceptions, and acquieſced. So that all might well wonder to ſee a gentleman [*s*] at this time of day, in

[*p*] Natural Hiſtory of the Earth, Pt. 3 and 6.
[*q*] Ibid. Pt. 2, 3.
[*r*] Pt. 3 and 6.
[*s*] Whiſton's new Theory of the Earth, 8vo.

a full

a full gale of his own fancy, acting the very ſame part over again, and treating the Moſaic account in like or in ſtill worſe manner, and this too merely to make way for a *new Theory* that was inconſiſtent with that account, and had not really any more credentials than the former from nature or holy writ, though both are endeavoured to be preſſed into its ſervice, and made to truckle to it. This is founded entirely upon ſuppoſition of a comet, that is ſo wholly precarious and imaginary, that the author has not been able to produce ſo much as one ſingle obſervation, or one inſtance of fact, to vouch for it. Nor has he even made the leaſt offer towards a proof of the exiſtence of the comet, upon which he erects his whole Theory, or indeed that there ever was in nature a comet of ſuch a conſtitution as that he deſcribes. But this is not, by many, the only objection that lies againſt that work, were this a proper occaſion to propoſe them.

IT is a reflection one has but too often occaſion to make, that no perſons fall into ſo many and enormous ſoloeciſms as men of learning and much reading. There are, in the numerous and almoſt endleſs ſhoals of books at this day extant, ſo many things that are obſcure, perplext, and inconſiſtent, ſo many that are dubious and uncertain, and ſo many finally that are not true, that few readers have capacity, attention, and ſtrength of mind, ſufficient to make a fit choice of things, and rightly to digeſt and diſpoſe of them. And, beſides, though their attention and abilities be never ſo great, they that beſtow the moſt conſiderable ſhare of their time in reading will have little to ſpare for reflection and a due exerciſe of their own thoughts, in order to the framing a right judgement and making a fit uſe of what they read. Nor is this ſo great an obſtacle in the way to the ſearch after truth, as the paſſions and prejudices that are

in the world. There are few men but have their darling and favourite opinions. Some perhaps that they fell into inadvertently and by chance, others that ſuit their reliſh, their humour, and inclinations. Now theſe, to be ſure, muſt be gratified and abided by; for which reaſon they, who are poſſeſſed of them, have a perpetual biaſs upon their mind, and paſs over every thing, except what may be brought to make for thoſe opinions, which perhaps may be the only thing that ought to be neglected and paſſed by as precarious and not to be relied upon. And when once men have wrought ſuch opinions firmly into their minds, ſo as to have appropriated them, and made them their own, they become ever after ſo fond of them as to ſuffer nothing to ſtand that can vie with them; nor is it eaſy to be imagined how far they will then go, or what they will venture in defence of them. Of this there are but too many inſtances; and indeed, without looking further, the very gentlemen laſt mentioned [*t*] have ſacrificed every thing, of however great importance, and though never ſo ſacred, to their own fancies and theories, which after all are found to be far from true, and to have no real foundation in fact or things; nor, which ought alſo to come under conſideration, are of any manner of uſe or ſervice to mankind, but on the contrary apparently detrimental, ſerving only to the unſettling and diſturbing the minds of men. Had things really been tranſacted in ſuch manner as it is ſet forth in either of thoſe theories, the knowledge of that would have been of no advantage to the world. But then they are both perfectly inconſiſtent with the Moſaic ſyſtem, ſo that that conſequently muſt have been falſe. Accordingly Dr. Burnet endeavours to repreſent it not as agreeable to the true ſtate of things, but only ſuch as beſt ſuited the humour and notions of the people; and Mr. Whiſton treats it

[*t*] Burnet and Whiſton.

under

under the ſtyle of the *vulgar hypotheſis*, as *unreaſonable*, *incongruous*, *wild*, *abſurd*, *and falſe*. Now this can hardly fail to be very diſadvantageous and injurious to the world; nor can theſe authors well wonder to find that thoſe who are no friends to laws, to government, to morals, and religion, readily cloſe in with them, and frankly admit their poſitions. If Moſes had been found tardy and failing in his account of things, all that is founded upon them would fall of courſe to the ground: and ſo the Jewiſh religion of old, and the Chriſtian, at preſent, be left without ſupport. Had that point been once made out, a great part of mankind muſt have allowed they had been for many ages wrong in their thoughts of religion: and it would be high time to look out for ſomething that was more certain, reaſonable, and ſteady. So likewiſe for Dr. Spencer's undertaking; to be informed that Moſes choſe his rites from among the Egyptians, or elſewhere, as would beſt pleaſe the people, might perhaps be ſome gratification of curioſity: but it would be of no farther uſe. And then they, who before thought all thoſe of divine original, and the author inſpired, muſt have given up thoſe ſentiments, and owned themſelves in the wrong.

DR. Spencer diſcovers a great deal of wit upon all occaſions, and his reading and learning was much above what is common. The very work before us, *De Legibus Hebraeorum*, gives an inconteſtable proof of that; in which he has with infinite induſtry made a moſt accurate collation of the Jewiſh and Pagan conſtitutions. But then this is the main, if not the only, uſe that can be made of his book. For when he comes to apply the collation he has made with all that pains and exactneſs, he falls into the greateſt and moſt erroneous paradox that a man well could, and runs it quite through his whole undertaking.

Becauſe

Becauſe of this *conſent* and *affinity* [*u*], he infers that the Jews had thoſe parts of their laws and rites, in which the two nations agree, from the Egyptians: whereas it is evident, at firſt view, the Egyptians might as well have derived theirs from the Jews. Nay, both might have taken them from ſome third original; and each have been induced to admit them without regard to the other; or, indeed, to any other conſideration than merely the reaſons, motives, and circumſtances of things; which are the ſame in common, and much alike all the world over.

I DENY not but that Doctor Spencer hath offered ſome arguments in behalf of his opinion; but they are ſuch as will not abide the teſt. There are among them none of any moment but come under one of theſe two heads: 1. That the Iſraelites were *rude* and *ignorant*, as well as *ſtubborn* and *obſtinate*; and had a mighty *propenſity* to the *manners* of the *Egyptians*, whom he will have to be a much more polite and refined people: ſo that Moſes admitted ſome of the *Egyptian rites* into his *law*, in *compliance* with their *weakneſs* and their *inclinations* [*v*]. 2. The Egyptians had a very *high opinion* of *themſelves*, and of the *cuſtoms* of *their own nation*. Then they *hated* and *deſpiſed* the *Iſraelites*, as a *mean* and *ſervile people*; and it is not likely they would ever *imitate* ſuch, or *practiſe* after them in *any thing*. Or, indeed, if they would, the *king* he thinks would never have *connived* at it; ſince it might tend to the *diſturbance* of the *peace*, and *diſſettlement* of the *government* [*w*].

THIS is the ſubſtance of what he offers: and, though the fact upon which it is grounded was certain, yet the concluſions he draws do not follow from it. Whatever might be the bent

[*u*] L. iii. c. 2. ſect. 2.
[*v*] L. iii. c. 11. p. 107, 108.
[*w*] L. iii. c. 2. ſect. 2. p. 16, 17.

and diſpoſitions of the Iſraelites, it was Moſes's proper buſineſs to rectify them. He was not to indulge them in their fancies, but inform them of their duties; and direct them to what was fit, reaſonable, and conſiſtent with good morals and piety; though that happened to be never ſo much againſt their guſts and inclinations; which accordingly he every where did: and there are numerous inſtances of it through all his government of them. His doing otherwiſe might indeed have ſhewn a great deal of *policy*; but not near ſo much probity and goodneſs as are diſcoverable through his whole conduct of this great people. I can very eaſily allow Doctor Spencer, that this was the method that Mahomet [*x*], Apollonius Tyanaeus [*y*], and ſome *Politicians* [*z*], have taken: nor will I enter into any conteſt with him, whether the *devil* [*a*] makes uſe of the ſame in order to ſeduce *mankind* from the *worſhip* of *God*; all which he gives, I think, ſurely, with a little too much looſeneſs, as parallel inſtances in confirmation of his notion; but this I am mighty ſure, Moſes was on all occaſions very far from it. The ſtandard by which apparently he governed himſelf in his religious ſanctions, was a due conſideration of what was worthy of God, and ſuitable to the circumſtances of the Jews, both with regard to themſelves and to the nations all around. Nor was the Pagan world ever in a ſtate ſo fooliſh and abandoned, as not to have had ſeveral fit modes of acknowledging their dependance upon God: ſo many, indeed, that it was not practicable for Moſes to compile a form of religion without taking in ſome of them. He was far indeed from rejecting any, merely becauſe

[*x*] L. iii. c. 12. p. 113.
[*y*] L. iii. c. 11. p. 107.
[*z*] Ibid. p. 107.
[*a*] L. iii. c. 11. p. 106. e.

they

they had before prevailed among the Pagans; but becauſe they were unfit, or unreaſonable. Not but that he was very cautious and ſhy of all thoſe that were particular to Egypt, be they what they would. For, though ſome of them might be in themſelves tolerable and indifferent, yet even theſe had been ſo often ſeen there in company of others that were not ſo, but of a very ill ſtrain, that it is the leſs ſtrange Moſes ſhould take care to place ſo very ſtrong a fence and barrier againſt them, as it is moſt evident he did; however contrary ſentiments Doctor Spencer may have entertained. But whatever this learned gentleman imagines, it does not follow, though the Egyptians had never ſo mean an opinion of the Iſraelites, that they might not obſerve ſeveral cuſtoms among them that they might judge very conſiderable, and well worth their imitation. And for what he urges as to the king's power of reſtraining it, that was neither practicable in Egypt, where the people were aſſuredly full as poſitive, perverſe, and ſtubborn, as Doctor Spencer repreſents the Jews; nor would it at all have endangered the government. He himſelf has given an inſtance of this in the Greeks, that travelled into Egypt, adopted many of their *ſacred rites* [*b*], and brought them into practice at home, without any hazard or inconvenience to the government there. So likewiſe the Romans had many from Greece, Phrygia, and elſewhere: and other examples there are of the ſame kind in other nations.

But, after all, the fact upon which he founds his notion is far from true and inconteſtable. It has been ſufficiently ſhewn already, that, however well opiniated the Egyptians might be of themſelves, they were very far from being poſſeſſed of ſo

[*b*] L. iii. c. 2. ſect. 2.

all Doctor Spencer has brought: and, indeed, he has not one of any conſequence, or that gives the leaſt proof of what he would advance. He can ſhew no inſtance of the Jews ever having ſo great a fondneſs and propenſity to the Egyptians, as it is very evident they, with very good reaſon, had for the Jews. And they were then as wiſe, as polite, and refined, as the Egyptians, even in opinion of theſe latter.

NOR does what I am about to eſtabliſh require that the Egyptians ſhould actually take thoſe cuſtoms, in which the two nations agreed, from the Jews; or indeed that either derived any thing from the other. The reaſon of mankind is uniform, and every where the ſame; and different people reflecting in like manner upon the ſame thing, will all draw much the ſame concluſions, and fall into the ſame thoughts, without ever conferring together, or taking any hints from each other. But, we ſhall be the better able to paſs judgement how likely they might be to do that in the preſent caſe, if we conſider the *inſtances* that are alledged by Doctor Spencer as borrowed from the Pagans to be inſerted into the body of the Jewiſh laws. Of theſe the principal are, the offering of *ſacrifices* [*l*], and particularly of the *firſt fruits* [*m*]; the prieſts and people communicating, and *eating* part of the *ſacrifice* [*n*], the building of *temples* [*o*], the *celebration* of *ſolemn feſtivals* [*p*], *luſtrations*, and *purifications* [*q*], the *linen veſtments* of the *prieſts* [*r*], and *payment*

[*l*] Differt. ii.
[*m*] L. iii. c. 9.
[*n*] Ibid. c. 7.
[*o*] Differt. vi. c. 1. et Differt. vii. c. 4. ſect. 2. p. 390.
[*p*] L. iii. c. 8.
[*q*] Differt. iii.
[*r*] L. iii. c. 5.

of

of tithes [s]. Now, if it be admitted that the whole race of mankind depends entirely upon the divine bounty and providence, and that the fruits of the earth, the beaſts of the field, the fowls of the air, and all other things that they have the uſe and benefit of, proceed thence, it is but fit that ſome acknowledgement and return of gratitude ſhould be paid back to the author and giver of all. This reaſoning is very ſimple and plain, and naturally leads to the *offering* of *firſt fruits*, and other *ſacrifices*. As reaſonable is it, that they who were preſent, and upon whoſe account the *offerings* were made, ſhould *communicate* and partake of them. And ſince it is requiſite there ſhould be ſome fit *place* for the celebrating of theſe and other like ſolemnities in, it is obvious to diſcover what brought-on the uſe of *temples*. The perſuaſion that the government of the world is in the hands of God, and that every happy turn and event to any perſon or nation proceeds from that, muſt very naturally point forth the ſetting apart times for return of thanks, extraordinary and ſuitable to the occaſion; and ſo make way for *ſolemn feſtivals*.

If mankind are conſcious of the weakneſs of their own nature, their vanity and folly, and that they contract *ſtains* and *pollutions* in the common courſe of life; they muſt be as ſenſible that *luſtrations* and *purifications* are needful: and though thoſe that are external be only typical, yet even they have their uſe, and ſerve to remind thoſe that practiſe them, to look a great deal further. In regard that the order of men that wait at the altar, and are concerned in holy offices, ought to be of all others the moſt pure and unblemiſhed, as alſo to carry an appearance of this for the example of others, not only in their lives, but in their converſe in the world, their deportment,

[s] L. iii. c. 10.

habits,

habits, and all other things; and ſince *linen* is very eaſily rendered pure, clean, and white, nothing can be ſo becoming and well ſuited for the making of their veſtments as that. In fine, if it be proper that there be ſuch an order of men, ſet apart and dedicated wholly to thoſe *offices*, which indeed has been unqueſtionably the practice of mankind from the beginning, they muſt have a ſupport and maintenance; nor can that be done any way more fitly than by payment of *tithes*. I do not offer theſe here as the only inducements to thoſe practices; they are far from it, and ſeveral others might as eaſily be aſſigned; but theſe are all very ſimple, plain, and obvious; and ſuch as people of different nations, and at the greateſt diſtance, would fall eaſily and naturally into, even upon the firſt reflections upon things. Which ſhews how little need there was for their conferring together upon the occaſion; or for one nation to take and borrow thoſe uſages from another; which all would preſently fall into upon a very little conſideration.

BUT, after all, the much greater part of the cuſtoms recounted above, and about which the preſent diſpute is, had obtained among mankind while they were ſtill in one company, converſing together, living in the ſame manner, and making all uſe of the ſame rites, before the diviſion of nations at Babel, or ever there was one ſoul in Egypt. And this lays open to us the true ſource of all that *conſent* and *affinity* that there was betwixt even the moſt diſtant nations, after they had ſettled each in the country that was allotted them. The colonies all carried theſe cuſtoms along with them to their ſeveral abodes; and there were from the very beginning *prieſts*, *ſacrifices*, *temples*, *feſtivals*, and *luſtrations*, as well among the ancient Germans and Gauls, in Peru and Mexico, in Siam, China, and Japan, as in Egypt: and Doctor Spencer might even

as well have brought them to Judea from any of all thoſe countries, if he had pleaſed; only that they would have been then ſomewhat further fetched.

THERE is one rite more, which though not of the antiquity with ſome of thoſe recounted above, nor indeed of near ſo great extent, or uſed in ſo many parts of the world as they were, yet muſt not be paſſed over without conſideration. I mean *circumciſion*; which, beſides the poſterity of Abraham, the Jews [*t*], Iſhmalites [*u*], and Idumeans [*x*], had obtained among the *Egyptians* [*y*], their neighbours the *Ethiopians* [*y*], particularly the *Troglodytae* [*z*], and the people of *Colchis* [*y*], who were a colony of the Egyptians [*a*]. Herodotus ſays alſo, that ſome of the *Phoenicians* were wont to circumciſe [*b*]. But, unleſs he intends by them the Idumeans, as Witſius [*c*], upon the authority of Ammonius, imagines, or the very ſame people that he means by the *Syrians that inhabit Paleſtine* [*d*], that is, the *Jews*, he was miſ-informed; it being moſt certain, that the *Phoenicians* did not uſe circumciſion [*e*]. There can be no great doubt, but that this cuſtom came from Egypt to Colchis, as alſo to Ethiopia [*f*]; whence, probably, it paſſed on ſouthward, to the very

[*t*] Gen. xvii.
[*u*] Gen. xvi. 25.
[*x*] Ibid. xxv. 25. 30.
[*y*] Herodot. l. ii. c. 104. Conf. Diodor. i. i.
[*z*] Diodor. l. iii. 165. d.
[*a*] Strabo, l. i. Ammian. Marcell. l. xxii. Dionyſ. περιηγ. v. 689.
[*b*] Ibid.
[*c*] Aegyptiaca, l. iii. c. 6. b. 10.
[*d*] Φοίνικες δὲ καὶ οἱ ἐν τῇ Παλαιστίνῃ, ibid.
[*e*] Jud. xiv. 3. & 1 Sam. xvii. 36. & xxxi. 4. Conf. Joſeph. i. c. Apion.
[*f*] Conf. Herodot. & Diodor. l. c.

utmoſt borders of that continent, to Guinea [*g*], and Congo [*h*]; where the practice is continued down to our times. But the main difficulty is, whether it firſt prevailed among the Jews or the Egyptians. Doctor Spencer [*i*] here contents himſelf with only repreſenting the arguments on both ſides, interpoſing little himſelf, but leaving the matter undecided. The work ſet forth by Philo Byblius [*k*], in the name of Sanchoniathon, intimates it was firſt put in practice by Saturn. But, beſides that the authority of that work is not very great, we can neither tell who is there meant by Saturn, nor where or at what time he lived. Herodotus [*l*], as alſo Julian [*m*] and Celſus [*n*], the two great and learned advocates of *Paganiſm*, take that ſide of the queſtion here, that Doctor Spencer has done in the ſeveral foregoing articles; and aſſert poſitively, that the *Jews* had this cuſtom from *Egypt*; though it be very evident he could never be rightly ſatisfied of that, ſince, as has been ſhewn above, they had no records of thoſe times: yet Herodotus ſeems to intimate that it had been in uſe here from the very *beginning* [*o*] of the nation; unleſs his expreſſion ἀπ' ἀρχῆς be applied, not to the *nation*, but to the *child* that was to be circumciſed; ſo as to denote *ab ineunte aetate*, from its *entrance upon life*; or that they were wont to perform this operation upon the infant in a few days after its birth. This is certain, that it was all along

[*g*] Diſcr. de Guinée par les Hollandois, Pt. ii. c. 2. p. S. & G. Boſman, Deſcr. de Guinee, p. 472.

[*h*] O Lopez, Hiſt. de Congo, c. 5.

[*i*] De Legib. Hebr. l. i. c. 4.

[*k*] Ap. Euſeb. Prep. l. i. c. 10.

[*l*] L. ii. c. 104.

[*m*] Ap. S. Cyril, c. Julian.

[*n*] Ap. Origen. l. i. p. 17.

[*o*] περιτάμνονται ἀπ' ἀρχῆς τὰ αἰδοῖα, l. ii. c. 104.

the

the cuſtom among the Iſraelites [*p*]; and Diodorus is as expreſs, that the Egyptians were wont to circumciſe boys in a ſhort time *after they were born* [*q*]: which he tells us they did, after the *ancient tradition* [*r*] and uſage of that country.

But, whatever ſome may have imagined, the circumciſion of the Hebrews was of a much earlier date than that of Egypt. Theodoret is very poſitive, that *it was not of old the cuſtom among the Egyptians to circumciſe* [*s*]. And this he collects from that paſſage of Exod. ii. 5. where *Pharaoh's daughter* cauſing *Moſes*, when yet an *infant* and caſt among the *flags by the river*, to be brought to her; as ſoon as ever ſhe ſaw him, ſhe declared he *was one of the Hebrews children.* He thinks ſhe preſently knew *that* from his being circumciſed; the Egyptians having not then admitted that rite: which conjecture does not want its weight; and, indeed, that one main end of circumciſion was *diſtinction*, and to diſcriminate the poſterity of Abraham and their allies from all other nations, ſeem to have been the opinion of Jews [*t*], Gentiles [*u*], and Chriſtians [*x*]. Irenaeus, in particular, will have the very *intention* of this inſtitution to have been as a *ſign*; and that the *Hebrews* might *not be like the Egyptians.* To come to a concluſion, there is in the book of Joſhua a paſſage that gives yet further light to this matter; and indeed puts

[*p*] Gen. xvii. 12.

[*q*] Περιέμενεν τὰς γεννομένας παῖδας, l. i. p. 24. c.

[*r*] Ἐκ παλαιᾶς παραδεδόθαι, ibid.

[*s*] Οὐκ ἦν πάλαι νόμος Αἰγυπτίοις περιέμενειν, Serm. ad Graec. p. 6. c.

[*t*] Joſeph. Ἀρχαιολ. l. i. c. 11.

[*u*] Circumcidere genitalia inſtituere ut diverſitate noſcantur. Tacitus, de Judaeis, Hiſt. l. v. c. 5.

[*x*] Deus—circumciſionem, in ſigno dedit, ut non ſimiles eſſent Egyptiis. Irenaeus, adv. Haeref. l. iii. c. 12. p. 230. Conf. l. iv. c. 30. p. 318.

it quite out of doubt. *All the people* of Iſrael *that came out of Egypt, that were males, were circumciſed* [z]. At their arrival in Canaan, the country fixed upon for their abode and ſettlement, Joſhua received command to renew the inſtitution that had been remitted during their forty years travel, *and circumciſe again the children of Iſrael* [a]. Immediately after that operation, *the Lord ſaid unto Joſhua, This day have I rolled away the reproach of Egypt from off you* [b]. This *reproach* was uncircumciſion; ſo that it is apparent, from this *paſſage*, the Egyptians had not admitted the uſe of circumciſion at the time that the Iſraelites left their country. Thus *Shechem*, demanding *Dinah* for his wife of her father *Jacob* and her brothers, had for anſwer, *we cannot give our ſiſter to one that is uncircumciſed, for that were a reproach* [c]. It was indeed intended as a mark of the higheſt infamy and *reproach* by the Jews, to call a man *uncircumciſed* [d]. The parents of Samſon endeavoured to diſſuade him from the marriage of a woman he had ſet his affections upon, by telling him ſhe was the daughter *of an uncircumciſed Philiſtine*. This was the higheſt diſparagement of her they could pitch upon; and what they judged the moſt likely to ſhock him, and prevent his making any further addreſſes to her. And David calls his fierce and boaſting antagoniſt, in the greateſt ſcorn, an *uncircumciſed Philiſtine* [e]. As to the inſtitution of circumciſion among the Hebrews, we have an expreſs account and hiſtory of all particulars of it, and its firſt commencement

[z] Joſ. v. 4, 5.
[a] Ibid. ver. 2.
[b] Ibid. ver. 9.
[c] Gen. xxxiv. 14.
[d] Jud. xiv. 3.
[e] 1 Sam. xvii. 36.

in

in Abraham, the great Patriarch and founder of that nation [*f*].

THUS we ſee that the preciſe time, means, and occaſion, of the admiſſion and eſtabliſhment of this cuſtom among the Hebrews, is aſcertained from undoubted records; and that it was admitted by them ſeveral ages before it obtained in Egypt; which is all that is needful, or of any uſe to the preſent purpoſe. Upon what motives it was at length introduced into Egypt, as it is a ſpeculation of very little moment, ſo, in truth, hiſtory being perfectly ſilent, the matter is ſo much in the dark that nothing can be determined concerning it with any certainty. Several of the ancients, Irenaeus [*g*], Theodoret [*h*], and ſome others, aſſert, that the Egyptians learned the uſe of it from the Jews. Artapanus [*i*] will have it, that they took it up merely out of *regard to Moſes*. That great man had indeed diſtinguiſhed himſelf among them in a manner very wonderful, extraordinary, and ſuch as might well excite their *regard* and admiration. At the ſame time that they muſt be deeply ſenſible of the miſeries and calamities Egypt laboured under, they could not but obſerve the ſucceſs that perpetually attended Moſes, and the happineſs of the Iſraelites under his conduct [*k*]. As the Egyptians were a people exceſſively and beyond meaſure abandoned to ſuperſtition, they might poſſibly fall into the notion that there was ſomething of a *charm* couched under that rite, which entitled thoſe that were circumciſed, as he and the Jews all were, to the like felicity,

[*f*] Gen. xvii.
[*g*] Witſ. 228. a.
[*h*] Serm. i. ad. Graecos, p. 6. c.
[*i*] Ap. Euſeb. Praep. l. iv. c. 27. Witſ. 226. c.
[*k*] Exod. v. et ſeqq.

and

and ſo took up the practice of it themſelves upon that account. But I ſhall not pretend to determine any thing of a cuſtom whoſe origin is ſo very obſcure: only it is moſt certain that it was reputed anciently a kind of *preſervative* againſt injuries and misfortunes [*m*]. I am very well aware, that in after-times the Egyptians uſed it upon a very different account.

ORIGEN has indeed long ago taken notice that the cauſe of the circumciſion of the Jews was not the ſame with that of the circumciſion of the Egyptians [*n*]. Herodotus lets us know what *that* was; and that the Egyptians did it in his time merely for the ſake of cleanlineſs [*o*]. Which Clemens Alexandrinus alſo confirms, he aſſerting they cut off the praepuce, for the ſame reaſon they *ſhaved* themſelves, the more certainly to keep their bodies free from any impurity [*p*]. Every body knows the Jews uſed it all along from the very beginning, wholly upon a religious account as an *initiation*, and in token of a *covenant* [*q*]; a purpoſe as remote from that of the Egyptians as well could be; though this was not, by ſeveral, the only thing in which the two nations differed as to this rite, were it of any uſe to enumerate them. Not that it is to be imagined the Egyptians would enter upon the practice of an operation upon their bodies, ſo painful and troubleſome as this was, upon ſo very ſlight a conſideration as that aſſigned by Herodotus. It is much more likely they were at firſt induced by ſome higher motive, as the notion of its ſerving as a *charm*,

[*m*] v. Spencer. de Legib. Hebr. l. i. c. 4. p. 22.

[*n*] Τὸ δ' αἴτιον τῆς Ἰουδαίων περιτομῆς & ταυτόν ἐϛι τῷ αἰτίῳ τῆς Αἰγύπλων. Orig. c. Celſum, l. v. p. 265.

[*o*] Καθαρώτηλος ἕνεκεν. l. ii. c. 37.

[*p*] De Circumcif. p. 840. c.

[*q*] Gen. xvii. 2.

or carrying with it ſome *magical* property, with which the Egyptians were intoxicated above all other people, and which would be as powerful an incentive to them as religion to rational and intelligent men. And, if that was the primitive deſign of the inſtitution there, it was worn out in tract of time, forgot, and the tradition loſt; poſterity continuing it down only becauſe it had been long a cuſtom there, having dropt the true *reaſon* [*r*] why it was firſt brought into uſe, which indeed is at this day the caſe of the inhabitants of South Africa. They are circumciſed without knowing any other reaſon for it, but that it was an ancient cuſtom of thoſe countries.

But there was nothing in all the Moſaic oeconomy of greater notice, or more extraordinary, than the *Urim and Thummim* [*s*]. and yet Dr. Spencer will have this to be appointed by *God* in *imitation* of the *auguries, prophecies, vocal images, oracles, and divinations, of the Chaldaeans, Egyptians, and Canaanites* [*t*]; a poſition that carries the greater ſurprize with it, in regard the more intelligent of even the Pagans themſelves ſlighted and had exploded all theſe. They looked upon them only as illuſions, and as ſuperſtitious and vain amuſements, that had no real foundation in nature or religion [*u*]. Nay, even this very author himſelf, in a diſcourſe [*x*] he formerly publiſhed, repreſents them as *ſuperſtitions, pious frauds, fancies,*

[*r*] Conſuetudine quadam, citra rationem. Epiphan. Haereſ. xxxvi. 3. Marſh. 168. e.

Ils ſe font circoncire ſans en ſavoir d'autre raiſon, ſi non que c'eſt une coutume ancienne. M de la Croix, Relat. de l'Afrique, Tom. ii. Pt. 2. c. 3. § 3.

[*s*] Exod. xxviii. 30.

[*t*] L. iii. c. 1. ſect. 1. p. 320. c.

[*u*] V. Tullii, lib. de Divinatione.

[*x*] Conc. Prodigies. [Praef. & p. 162, &c.]

follies,

follies, errors, and weakneſſes, too great for laughter. It cannot but be thought very ſtrange, and indeed incredible, that the Urim and Thummim, that was allowed to haye a divine ſanction, and ſtood in the very front of the Jewiſh religion, ſhould ever take riſe from practices that were not only Pagan, but deſerved ſo mean characters as this learned writer beſtows, indeed very deſervedly, upon them. The *Urim* he thinks *was a little image, in human ſhape, of the ſort formerly called Theraphim* [*y*]. This the high prieſt wore in the *pectorale*, and by means of it *God*, or ſome *angel* by his appointment, was wont to give anſwers by an audible voice, as Dr. Spencer imagines, when this was applied to and conſulted [*z*] upon proper, great, and ſolemn occaſions.

THE *Thummim* he takes to be another like image reſembling that which was worn by the Egyptian high prieſt mentioned by Diodorus and Aelian, in imitation of which this he thinks was made [*a*]. The *Theraphim*, from which he derives the Urim, were little *idols* uſed chiefly in Chaldaea [*b*], and much like the Penates of the Phrygians, Romans, and other Gentile nations. That the Pagans beſtowed an idolatrous worſhip upon the Theraphim, and made uſe of them in their magick and divinations, has been already ſufficiently made out by Witſius [*c*]. This learned gentleman has indeed written profeſſedly againſt Dr. Spencer, but has no where ſucceeded ſo

[*y*] Urim—ſimulacrum forte parvulum effigiem humanam referens Theraphim antiquitus appellatum, l. iii. c. 3. ſect. 2. p. 331. e. Voce formata, ibid.

[*z*] Num. xxvii. 21. Conf. 1 Sam. xxviii. 6.

[*a*] L. iii. c. 4. ſect. 2.

[*b*] Gen. xxxi. 19. 30.

[*c*] Aegyptiaca, ſive de Aegyptiacorum Sacrorum cum Hebraicis collatione, 4to. l. ii. c. 10.

happily

happily, nor has that advantage of him, that he hath here in treating of the Urim [*d*] and Thummim [*e*], ſo that there now remains the leſs for me to offer on the ſubject. Thus much muſt needs be ſaid, that the Theraphims were ſo far from having that high ſanction which the Urim had, or from being the origin and pattern after which this was modelled, that they are expreſsly declared odious in holy writ [*f*], abominations, and contrary to the Moſaic law. *And full as little* reaſon was there to ſuppoſe the Thummim made in imitation of the Egyptian image above-mentioned. The Gentile world had ever their deities without number or end. Among the reſt they had conſecrated and made Gods of ſeveral of the powers of nature, of the accidents of life, and of all the ſeveral human virtues. In particular, of foecundity, of hope, of victory, of fortune, of plenty, of peace, of love, of piety, of prudence, of juſtice, and, in Egypt, among many others, of truth [*g*]. An image of this laſt, made of precious ſtones, Diodorus ſays the chief judge in Egypt wore about his neck in a gold chain [*h*]. So likewiſe Aelian tells us, that he was wont to have about his neck an image made of a ſapphire and called truth. He adds, indeed, that the judge there, from all antiquity, had been choſen from among the prieſts; but the chief management of affairs in Egypt, and moſt of the great offices in the kingdom, were in their hands. And the perſon here treated of did not wear this image as a prieſt, but in a very different capacity, and as a *judge* [*i*].

[*d*] L. ii. c. 10. et ſeqq.
[*e*] L. iii. c. 12.
[*f*] 2 Kings xxxiii. 24.
[*g*] Ἀλήθεια. Aelian. Var. Hiſt. l. xiv. c. 34.
[*h*] L. i. p. 68. e.
[*i*] Conf. Witſium, l. iii. c. 2. ſect. 9.

IT was meerly a badge of office: nor was there any further myſtery in it, but only to ſignify that in all cauſes, and with all perſons, his proceedings and decrees ſhould be according to truth and equity. Which very deſign *Aelian* plainly points forth, in telling us, along with the account of this image of truth, which the chief judge wore, that a perſon in that ſtation ought of all men living to be the moſt juſt and impartial [*k*], to purſue the truth, and do exact juſtice to all people whatever. For which reaſon doubtleſs it was that he wore this image, as Diodorus intimates, while he was judging cauſes, and determining actions and controverſies [*l*], or ſuits at law. Whereas the Urim and Thummim were worn only by the high prieſt, were conſulted, and gave anſwers, as an oracle. So that there was no manner of analogy betwixt them, and their uſes and intentions were as different as well could be. Not but that the LXX interpreters being Egyptians, and reſiding there, not knowing what the Thummim really was, ſeem to have fancied it ſomething not unlike the image worn by their chief judge [*m*], becauſe they tranſlate תמים by the word Ἀλήθεια, the very ſame by which they called that image. Nor is it ſtrange that thoſe interpreters ſhould make ſo wrong a gueſs about a thing that was in their time wholly ceaſed and in diſuſe. The Jews themſelves then did not perhaps rightly underſtand what the Urim and Thummim were, nor is it certainly known at this day. They that would ſee the opinions of the ancients concerning them may do it in Buxtorf's *exercitations*

[*k*] Ἔδη δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι δικαιότατον, ἀνθρώπιον, καὶ ἀφειδέστατον. Aelian. l. c.

[*l*] Διαιρέσεων. Diodor. l. c.

[*m*] Aelian. hiſt. var. xiv. 34.

upon

upon that ſubject [*n*], for I am not willing to charge theſe papers with any thing that is foreign to my purpoſe. Their thus interpreting the word *Thummim*, by Ἀλήθεια, did indeed give ſome umbrage to this notion of Dr. Spencer, that the thing came originally from Egypt. It is what he inſiſts very much upon [*o*], nor does any thing he offers, in all the long diſcourſe he has publiſhed upon the ſubject, carry ſo much the face of an argument as this does. But, after all, that interpretation was quite wrong, which Dr. Spencer likewiſe knew very well. He acknowledges that Thummim denotes perfections [*p*], and not *Truth* as the LXX, very unfitly, render it. This all the criticks in the Hebrew, he allows, are agreed in, as they are that *Urim* imports Lights [*q*]; which indeed Philo Judaeus [*r*], and the LXX, have not unfitly rendered by Δήλωσις, *manifeſtation*, or revelation. Now, ſince this was an oracle, and to give anſwers when conſulted, ſince its proper uſe was to give *light* to things that were perplext, obſcure, and in the dark; and thoroughly to inſtruct, inform, and *perfect*, the high prieſt, as often as by means of it he ſhould have recourſe to *God* for doctrine or counſel; it could never poſſibly have a more fit name aſſigned it than Urim and Thummim, lights and perfections [*s*]. So that the LXX were apparently much out in rendering Thummim by Ἀλήθεια. But here is

[*n*] Exerc. de Urim et Thum. ii. De recentioribus, v. I. C. Dieterici Antiq. Bibl. p. 654.

[*o*] L. iii. c. 4. ſect. 1, 2.

[*p*] L. iii. c. 3. ſect. 1. p. 329. c. et c. 5. ſect. 1. p. 401. d.

[*q*] Conf. Buxtorfii exercit. de Urim, c. 2. p. 276. c.

[*r*] De vita Moſis, p. 670.

[*s*] Thummim dici, quia *perficiunt* ſacerdotem magnum, qui per ea quaerit doctrinam a domino. Jonathan. ap. Buxtorf. ib. p. 279.

little need to inſiſt on words, when we ſee the things were as different as well could be. The one was meerly of ſecular uſe, the other the moſt ſacred and ſolemn that could be: the one the badge of a judge, the other an oracle. So that Dr. Spencer was greatly in the wrong in aſſerting ſo near an agreement betwixt them, and more in referring the Thummim to the Egyptians as the firſt authors of it [*t*], and believing that the Iſraelites borrowed the uſe of this gem from them, and that God allowed it as an ornament to the high Prieſt of the Iſraelites, in imitation of the Egyptians Ἀληθείας [*u*]. As much miſtaken was he in thinking the Urim and Thummim, borne by their Jewiſh high prieſt, the chief perſon concerned in that religion, and which were things as ſacred as any in the religion, and recourſe had to them only on great occaſion, and in the moſt ſolemn manner, were two images in human ſhape, cauſed to be made by Moſes, after he had over and over ſo ſtrictly forbid the making of any graven image, or the likeneſs of any thing [*x*] whatever, after he had expreſsly laid his commands on the whole body of the Jewiſh nation, *Take ye therefore good heed, leſt ye corrupt yourſelves, and make you a graven image, or the ſimilitude of any figure* [*y*], &c. nay he had openly declared the man CURSED that maketh any graven or molten image, pronouncing them an abomination to the Lord, and enjoining all the people to anſwer and ſay

[*t*] Ad Aegyptios tanquam primos authores referamus, l. iii. c. 4. ſect. ii. p. 394.

[*u*] Credamus, Iſraelitas illam Gemmam ab Aegyptiis mutuatos fuiſſe, Deumque—Pontifici Iſraelitico in ornamentum conceſſiſſe, &c. ibid.

[*x*] Exod. xx. 4.

[*y*] Deut. xv. 15, 16.

Amen [z] to it. Dr. Spencer takes notice of two very learned men, who, directly contrary to his notion, fancy that the Egyptians took the hint of the Περίαπτον worn by their chief judge from the Jewiſh Thummim. I mean H. Grotius [*a*], and J. Schefferus [*b*], to whom I may add a third, Herm. Conringius [*c*], who was not inferior to either of them. For my own part, there is ſo little analogy, as has been ſhewn above, betwixt that Περίαπτον and the Thummim, that I can ſee no more reaſon to ſubſcribe to their ſentiments, than to his. The things were different; ſo likewiſe was the uſe and deſign of each, and the perſons that wore them under as different characters and circumſtances.

Upon this occaſion it may be not amiſs to remark, that there have been ſome men of great note and figure in the world, and in particular Juſtin Martyr [*d*], Clemens Alexandrinus [*e*], and Euſebius [*f*], as alſo Joſephus [*g*] that was himſelf a Jew and a perſon of great learning; who were of opinion that the Gentiles had borrowed all thoſe cuſtoms, they had in common with the Jews, from the Moſaic law. To go about to enquire into the certainty of this here would be a digreſſion of no ſervice to my deſign, and indeed now of no uſe. I have already not only ſhewn by what means both might very eaſily fall into the ſame rites, without any notice of each other, or

[z] Deut. xxvii. 15.
[*a*] Not. in lib. de Verit. Chriſt. Relig. n. m. ſect. 16.
[*b*] De Antiquorum Torquibus, ſect. 5. p. 21.
[*c*] De Hermet. Aegypt. Med. c. xii. p. 142.
[*d*] Apol. ii.
[*e*] Strom. l. i. et v.
[*f*] Praep. l. xiii.
[*g*] Contra Apion. l. ii. p. m. 1081. a. b.

ever

ever conferring together, but likewiſe laid open the true cauſe of their agreement. Only thus much I cannot but obſerve, that together with Pellicanus, Hackſpan, Toſtatus, and ſome others, whoſe authority will, I fancy, not weigh much with men of thought, unleſs backed with better arguments than any they have alledged, Dr. Spencer has brought in Theodoret [*b*], as a voucher for his opinion. He cites two long paſſages out of him [*i*], neither of which, in reality, make any thing to his purpoſe. Whereas, if he would have known the true ſentiments of this father, he elſewhere very freely and openly delivers them, aſſerting that *as the Hebrews dwelt a long time in Egypt, ſo the Egyptians received very conſiderable advantage*, and many uſeful intimations of cuſtoms and things *from their converſation* [*k*]. And in particular he thinks they owed the firſt uſe of circumciſion to the Hebrews, as has been already noted.

To bring this whole affair to a concluſion, as it has been above [*l*] made out that the current of hiſtory and fact is univerſally oppoſite, and runs counter to this notion of Dr. Spencer: So, if we have recourſe to the parties concerned on either ſide, they give their votes as directly againſt him; nor does it appear that ever any one man living in thoſe times, Jew or Gentile, had any ſuch ſenſe of this matter. For the Jews and even the holy writers themſelves, thoſe very ſacrifices that Dr. Spencer [*m*] makes the pattern after which Moſes copied, Moſes himſelf

[*b*] Tom. iv. Serm. 7.

[*i*] De Legib. Hebr. l. iii. c. i. p. 10.

[*k*] Τοὶ καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι πλεῖσον ὄσον τῆς τάτων μετοικίας ἀπόνατο, συχνὸν γὰρ ὤκησαν χρόνον Ἑβραῖοι τὴν Αἴγυπτον. ad Græc. Serm. i. p. 10.

[*l*] Vide ſupra.

[*m*] L. iii. Diſſert. ii.

and

and after him St. Paul, who was ſo great a maſter of the learning of both the Jews and Gentiles, declares to be abominations highly offenſive to the divine majeſty, and that thoſe Gentiles ſacrificed unto Devils, not to God [*n*]. And elſewhere the whole heathen worſhip, and all parts of it, are pronounced abominations, and evil in the ſight of the Lord [*o*]. So that it is not ſtrange that the Lord had charged the Iſraelites that they ſhould not do like the Heathen that were round about them [*p*]: and particularly like the Egyptians, who are here diſtinguiſhed by their worſhiping images of calves [*q*], and perhaps alſo by their uſing divinations and enchantments, to which they were addicted above all other nations. In fine, the Jews ſaw ſo little like what they themſelves believed or acted in their worſhip, among the heathens, that they aver they *have not known God* [*r*], nor adored him, or *called upon his name* [*s*]. For which reaſon they looked upon them as objects of his hatred and *indignation* [*t*]. In conſequence of this the Jews were univerſally poſſeſſed with a very mean and ill opinion of them. They were ſo far from thinking any part of the Moſaic law derived from this quarter, that they ever cenſured the Gentile doctrines as falſe, and their worſhip as wholly impious and prophane, becauſe they ſo little agreed with their own. Upon which very account they both ſhunned their converſe, and ſlighted and deſpiſed their perſons.

[*n*] Deut. xxxii. 16, 17. 1 Corinth. x. 20.
[*o*] 2 Kings, xxi. 2, 3. Conf. 2 Chron. xxxvi. 14.
[*p*] 2 Kings, xvii. 15.
[*q*] Ver. 16 et 17.
[*r*] Pſalm lxxix. 6.
[*s*] Jer. x. 25.
[*t*] Ibid.

AND

AND this, in truth, it was, that drew ſo great a load of ſatire and calumny back from the Pagans upon the Jews, of which there are ſeveral inſtances in Juvenal, Tacitus, and other writers on that ſide; that ſome perſons who did not know what were the right grounds and cauſes of them have made a mighty ſtir about, as if thoſe characters were juſt, and the Jews deſerved what was thus only fixed upon them in mere return for the rough treatment they ever gave the Pagans. Every nation will be forward enough to juſtify their own manners and uſages, be they what they will. And thoſe who will inſult others muſt, in courſe, expect like returns, right or wrong, and not be ſpared themſelves; which truly was the whole of the matter in the caſe before us, and the only reaſon that the Gentiles flung upon them all that cenſure and reproach.

BUT what paſſed then fell, after all, far ſhort of what we have ſeen in our days. The ſtiffneſs of the Jews, and their ſupercilious carriage to the Gentiles, drew from them abundance of raillery and ſcarcaſm. Then the mighty diſtance at which they kept them occaſioned a general ignorance among them of the Jewiſh affairs, and gave birth to ſeveral groundleſs ſtories and reports concerning their nation. And, when Chriſtianity began to ſpread in the world, and gain ground of the Pagan religion, the partizans of it directed their ſhafts, with the ſame animoſity, againſt the Moſaic writings that they did againſt the Goſpel. They ſaw well how great a ſupport this had from thoſe writings; and therefore attacked both with equal ſtreſs and application. But all this hath been much out-done by a humour that has prevailed in the preſent age. The Jews have been expoſed as ſtupid and illiterate dolts, the vileſt of all human creatures; and the Moſaic account of things as only fitted

to

to their guſt and capacity. This account has, with a great deal of art, ingenuity, and diligence, been repreſented as *inconſiſtent* with *nature*, as *falſe*, *abſurd*, and every thing elſe that is bad: and this chiefly becauſe it could not be brought by any means to favour ſome late *theories* and *hypotheſes*.

THE ſcurvy reception the Jews of old ever gave the Gentiles, could not certainly but be warning and reaſon ſufficient for the lattter to keep aloof, to avoid their converſe, and never come near their territories. The carriage of the Jews towards them was perpetually ſuch as if they judged them creatures of a much meaner ſpecies, and infinitely below themſelves. To ſay there that any man was an *Heathen*, was to repreſent him as wholly unfit for human ſociety [*t*]; and it was reputed a diſparagement, if not a ſort of pollution, to entertain any correſpondence with him. They thought, with the laſt degree of contempt, of the manners, the knowledge, the underſtanding, and even the perſon of an heathen. This was a continual bar to all civil intercourſe with the neighbouring nations: nor is it ever to be imagined, any man could be over forward to travel among a people who were ſure to ſlight him, and judge him wholly unworthy of their converſation. But, beſides, Jeruſalem lay quite up in the country, and at conſiderable diſtance from the ſea; whereas Peluſium, Tanais, Canopus, Memphis, and the other cities of Egypt, were all near to the ſea, or the Nile, that ſhips could eaſily come full up to them; which much facilitated the paſſage, and encouraged the travels, of the Greeks and other foreigners into Egypt. And this, as it is very certain, ſo it gives an effectual anſwer to that queſtion, *What man of all the Graecians did we ever read of as travelling into Judea* for the improve-

[*t*] *An heathen man and a publican*, Matth. xviii. 17.

this prodigious fabrick, were all deſigned, cut out, and framed, at a diſtance from the place were it was finally raiſed. I eaſily allow this learned gentleman to be a good judge of all the genteeler and more ingenuous arts; and I *deſire him* to conſider how this could ever be performed, I will not ſay without common geometry, mathematicks, architecture, and the ſeveral arts ſubſervient to it, but without a very great and extraordinary accompliſhment and perfection in them all. Nor is that by many the only inſtance he might there have met with, to evince the ſame thing, and put it beyond any cauſe of doubt. I am very forward to perſuade myſelf thoſe books are not of leſs authority with him than, I will not ſay Apollonius Molon, but Herodotus, or Diodorus; and they would aſſuredly have ſhewed him, that the arts and learning of Judaea were, in truth, very conſiderable a long time before ever Thales, Pythagoras, or any of the moſt early of the Greek ſages, had ever viſited Egypt. And would the Jews have given them permiſſion or encouragement, as the Egyptians did, they might have travelled into Judaea vaſtly more to their information than into Egypt. That I think appears very clearly from what has been already delivered concerning the ſtate of knowledge in that country, from all the light that has been tranſmitted to us concerning it.

BUT, as it was not eaſy, on a ſubject ſo very extenſive and copious, to avoid exceeding the bounds I firſt ſet myſelf, which I am well aware I have done; ſo I ſhall be the more brief in the diſpatch of what is yet depending; which is, to enquire into the ſenſe of the ſecular writers among the Jews concerning this controverſy about the origin of their law. And they are very far from giving any the leaſt countenance to the opinion, that any part of it was owing to the Gentiles. Inſtead of that, they every where repreſent it to be at as great diſtance from paganiſm

ganiſm as poſſible. One, who was as good a judge as any man, avers, that it was very *apparent* there was a direct repugnancy and *contrariety* of the Jewiſh *laws not only to thoſe of Greece, but very many others* of the Pagan nations; and, *above all*, to thoſe of the *Egyptians* [*g*]. In like manner Philo, who, being of Jewiſh deſcent, and born in Egypt, had the better opportunity of being thoroughly informed of the ſtate of that country, as well as of Judea, after he had ſet forth the abſurdity and *vanity* of the Egyptian theology, lays it down as a thing certain and inconteſtable, that the law was given as a guard and fence againſt the cuſtoms of Egypt; Moſes, in purſuit of that great deſign [*h*], *keeping all the Egyptian irreligion* entirely *out of the ſacred legiſlature*; by which means he *reclaimed* the Jews from the *ribbaldry*, to which they had been ſo long habituated in Egypt, *to the worſhip of the true God*: his *intention* in the whole *being to lead mankind out of the errors of the* Egyptians, for it is of thoſe he is here treating, *into the right way*; to ſet aſide what was in practice amongſt them, and preſcribe a more reaſonable manner, of worſhip.

Nor did ever any of the Pagans go about to fancy the Jewiſh conſtitution was obliged to them for any thing. On the contrary, they looked upon it as the reverſe of theirs, and diametrically oppoſite to the Gentile oeconomy. They ſaw plainly, and acknowledged, that *all things* whatever, that were *ſacred* amongſt them, paſſed for irreligious and *prophane* [*i*] amongſt

[*g*] Non enim circa ſolos Graecos diſordia Legum dignoſcitur; ſed maxime verſus Aegyptios, et plurimos alios. Joſeph. contra Apion. l. ii. p. 1066. Ruſino Interprete.

[*h*] Ἀνελὼν ἂν ἐκ τῆς ἱερᾶς νομοθεσίας πᾶσαν τὴν τοιαύτην ἐκθέωσιν, ἐπὶ τὴν τῶ πρὸς ἀλήθειαν ὄντ@ Θεῶ τιμὴν ἐκάλεσεν.—βελόμεν@ δὲ τὸ γέν@ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἀνοδίαν πλανώμενον εἰς ἀπλανεςάτην ἄγειν ὁδόν. De decalogo, p. 756. a.

[*i*] Profana illic omnia quae apud nos ſacra. Tacit. Hiſt. l. v. c. 4. de Judaeis.

the

" The oolde ordre of makyng the Kynges bedd, not to be uſed
" nor done, but as hys grace woll comaund and apoynte from
" tyme to tyme herafter.

" Furste a groome or a page to take a torche & to goo to the
" warderobe of the kynges bedd, & bryng theym of the warderobe
" with the kynges ſtuff unto the chambr for makyng of the ſame
" bedde.—Where as aught to be a gentylman-uſher, iiij yeomen
" of the chambr for to make the ſame bedde. The groome to
" ſtande at the bedds feete with his torche.——They of the
" warderobe openmyng the kinges ſtuff of hys bedde upon a fayre
" ſheete bytwen the ſayde groome & the bedds fote, iij yeomen or
" two at the leſte in every ſyde of the bedde. The gentylman
" uſher and parte commaundyng theym what they ſhall doo.—
" A yoman with a dagger to ſearche the ſtrawe of the kynges
" bedde that there be none untreuth therin.——And this yoman
" to caſte up the bedde of downe upon that, & oon of theym to
" tomble over yt for the ſerche thereof. Then they to bete and
" tufte the ſayde bedde, & to laye oon then the bolſter without
" touchyng of the bedd, where as it aught to lye. Then they of
" the warderobe to delyver theym a fuſtyan takyng the ſaye therof.
" All theys yomen to laye theyr hands theroon at oones, that they
" touch not the bedd, tyll yt be layed as it ſholde be by the
" comaundement of the uſſher.—And ſo the furſte ſheet in lyke
" wyſe, and then to truſſe in both ſheete & fuſtyan rownde about
" the bedde of downe. The warderoper to delyver the ſecond
" ſheete unto two yomen, they to croſſe it over theyr arme, and to
" ſtryke [*a*] the bedde as the uſſher ſhall more playnly ſheweun to
" theym. Then every yoman layeing hande upon the ſheete to
" laye the ſame ſheete upon the bedde. And ſo the other fuſtyan
" upon or ij with ſuche coverynge as ſhall content the kynge.

[*a*] Stroak, from the Saxon, ſtrican, *Lævigare.*

" Thus

" Thus doon the ij yomen next to the bedde to laye down agene
" the overmore fuſtyan, the yomen of the warderobe delyverynge
" theym a pane ſheete, the ſayde yoman therewythall to cover the
" ſayde bedde: And ſo then to laye down the overmoſt ſheete
" from the beddes heed. And then the ſayd ij yomen to lay all
" the overmoſt clothes of a quarter of the bedde. Then the
" warderoper to delyver unto theym ſuch pyllowes as ſhall pleaſe
" the kynge. The ſayd yoman to laye theym upon the bolſter
" and the heed ſheet with whych the ſayde yoman ſhall cover the
" ſayd pyllowes. And ſo to truſſe the endes of the ſaid ſheete
" under every end of the bolſter. And then the ſayd warderoper
" to delyver unto them ij lytle ſmall pyllowes werwythall the
" ſquyres for the bodye or gentylman uſſher ſhall give the faye to
" the warderoper, and to the yoman whyche have layde on hande
" upon the ſayd bedde. And then the ſayd ij yomen to lay upon
" the ſayde bedde toward the bolſter as yt was bifore. They
" makyng a croſſe and kiſſynge yt where there handes were.
" Then ij yomen next to the feete to make the feers as the uſſher
" ſhall teche theym. And ſo then every of them ſticke up the
" aungel about the bedde, and to lette downe the corteyns of the
" ſayd bedde or ſparver [*b*].

" Item, a ſquyer for the bodye or gentylman-uſſher aught to
" ſett the kynges ſword at hys beddes heede.

" Item, a ſquyer for the bodye aught to charge a ſeeret groome
" or page to have the kepynge of the ſayde bedde with a lyght
" unto the tyme the kynge be diſpoſed to goo to yt,

" Item, a groome or page aught to take a torche whyle the bedde
" ys yn makyng to feche a loof of brede, a pott with ale, a pott
" wyth wine for them that maketh the bedde, and every man.

[*b*] Sparver, a camp or turn-up bed, from Spanish, *Obrir*, to ſhut or cloſe up.

MR. Bryant undoubtedly means well by this ſuppoſed additional confirmation of the Old Teſtament. I cannot however but think on this head with Monſieur Freret, who begins his diſſertation on the Floods of Ogyges and Deucalion in the following words [*a*].

" I SHALL in this Memoir chiefly conſider whether theſe
" two floods really happened; or if they are nothing more
" than a diſfigured account of the Noachic deluge, according
" to the opinions of Salmaſius, Prideaux, and Bianchini.
" ONE ſhould ſcarcely conceive, if we had not repeated
" examples, that ſo many attempts ſhould have been made by
" learned and ingenious men, to eſtabliſh a conformity between
" the ancient hiſtory of the Jews, and the fables of the
" Greeks, Egyptians, Indians, Chineſe, and even of the Ame-
" ricans, which they cannot ſupport but by forced con-
" jectures, and abſurd hypotheſes. Does this ariſe from ſup-
" poſing that truth wants the ſupport of fiction? or is it a con-
" ſequence of the ſtrong prejudice we conceive for the ancients?
" Hence, perhaps, it hath been imagined that no truth can have
" eſcaped them, and that Holy Writ would want ſome degree
" of authenticity, if we did not find ſome traces of it in the
" mythology of the Ancients."

MR. Bryant ſeems to have only ſeen an engraving of this medaglion in a diſſertation of Falconeri's upon it; and hath altered parts of the emblem, on account of ſome ſuppoſed inaccuracies in Falconeri's engraver. Mr. Bryant, however, applies what Falconeri ſays about the bottom of the machine, to the top, on which, by theſe means, he erects a triangular pedi-
ment.

[*a*] Memoires de l'Acad. des Inſc. & des Belles Lettres, T. xviii. p. 129. 4to
T. xxxiii. 213. 12mo.

THAT

THAT Falconeri's correction relates only to the bottom of the machine, is moſt evident, not only from his own words, but from two engravings of this medal in the Muſeum Florentinum [*b*], and the Numiſmata Pembrokiana [*c*], as alſo from the medal itſelf in the very valuable collection of Dr. Hunter, and a ſtill more perfect one in that of the Rev. Mr. Crofts, both of which theſe gentlemen were ſo obliging as to permit me to examine.

WHERE there are ſo few objects repreſented, and the legend ſo ſhort, it need be ſcarcely ſaid that the leaſt inaccuracy may make a very material difference; and yet, if the engravings in Mr. Bryant's analyſis and diſſertation are compared, the B follows the OY at an equal diſtance with the letters of ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ in the one, and with a conſiderable interval in the other: if the engraving alſo in the Muſeum Florentinum is examined, there is no B at all, nor any character which could ever have been ſo, as it is rather a Roman S, with a ſtroke added, [S—].

BUT a much more material difference is to be found in the form of the *ark* (as it is ſuppoſed to be); for neither in Dr. Hunter's medal, nor in the engraving from that in the Medicean collection, are there any traces of a pediment, or triangular roof, as Mr. Bryant repreſents the veſſel; but only two erect poſts, upon which a tranſverſe rail reſts, probably to faſten an awning to, or perhaps to make the whole machine more ſtrong.

THE ark or boat itſelf alſo, in Dr. Hunter's, Mr. Crofts', and the Medicean Medal, is formed like a wedge, and not flat as in Mr. Bryant's engraving, on one ſide of which wedge are inſcribed the letters ΝΩΕ in the Medicean, but the characters

[*b*] Numiſmata, vol. III. p. 14[illegible] and the engraving, vol. I. T. lxxvi. 12. 3.
[*c*] Pt. 3 T. lxviii.

in

in Dr. Hunter's medal cannot be diſtinguiſhed by the help of magnifying glaſſes [*d*], though they are ſufficiently apparent in that of Mr. Crofts.

I WILL, however, now conſider Mr. Bryant's engravings to be the only authentic repreſentation, and let us ſee whether the circumſtances muſt neceſſarily relate to the Noachic deluge [*e*].

As Mr. Bryant ſuppoſes that the letters ΝΩΕ muſt ſignify the patriarch himſelf, it is very clear that the mint-maſter muſt have been acquainted with the Moſaical account of the flood, the particulars of which are very few, and are all contained in three chapters of the book of Geneſis.

I SHALL copy Mr. Bryant's own deſcription of the emblem of this medal.

"UPON the reverſe is delineated a kind of ſquare machine "floating upon the water. Through an opening in it, are ſeen "two perſons, a man and a woman, as low as the breaſt, and "upon the head of the woman is a vail. Over this ark is a "kind of triangular pediment, on which there ſits a dove [*f*], "and *below* [*g*] it another, which ſeems to *flutter* its wings [*b*], "and holds in its mouth [*i*] a ſmall branch of a tree. Before

(*d*) Dr. Hunter hath informed me, ſince he permitted me to examine his medal, that he thinks he can diſtinguiſh the characters in ſome particular directions.

(*e*) "Every circumſtance relates to the Patriarch;" Mr. Bryant's Diſſ. p. 11. "Change the inſcription, but the circumſtances remain." Ibid. p. 21.

(*f*) Harduin conceives the bird to be an Eagle. See Muſeum Florentinum Numiſmata, vol. III. which is alſo repreſented on an Apamean coin in the Numiſmata Pembrokiana, being probably the common emblem of that town.

(*g*) Rather *above* it.

(*h*) *On the wing* rather.

(*i*) This ſhould be, *between its claws*.

"the

" the machine is a man following a woman, who, by their at-
" titudes, ſeem to have juſt quitted it, and to have gotten upon
" dry land. Upon the ark itſelf, underneath the perſons there
" incloſed, is to be read, in diſtinct characters, NΩE [*k*]."

THE ſquare machine is repreſented as ſo ſmall, that the man and woman have but juſt room to ſtand in it; and how can this be applicable to Noah's ark, conſiſting of three ſtories, and which was to contain ſo many animals with the proviſion neceſſary to ſubſiſt them for more than twelve months? I allow indeed that mint-maſters do not pique themſelves upon accuracy in ſuch particulars; but that there would not have been ſuch a groſs miſrepreſentation in the apparent ſize of the ark, I can appeal to the engraving of the Argo, prefixed to Mr. Bryant's Diſſertation, which is conſiderably larger than the ſuppoſed ark of Noah.

THE roof of this ark is open, and the very top cannot much exceed ſix feet by comparing it with the height of the two perſons incloſed [*l*]. How likewiſe does the removal of the roof agree with the Moſaical account of the ark's having but one window? and Mr. Bryant himſelf ſuppoſes the patriarchal family to have uſed torch-light whilſt the ark floated.

WITH regard to the two figures alſo conceived to be Noah and his wife, it muſt be recollected that not only the patriarch and his wife, but his three ſons with their wives, are expreſſly ordered both to go into, and remove from the ark; nor is there any one animal following them.

As for Noah's wife, ſhe bears ſo inconſiderable a part in the Moſaical hiſtory, that we do not know even what was her

(*k*) Analyſis Anc. Myth. v. II. p. 229.

(*l*) In the Numiſmata Pembrokiana the two heads abſolutely touch the top of the machine.

name;

name [*m*]; but if ſhe was really of importance, there is a pannel left for γυνη, or και γυνη, which it was equally proper to inſcribe as NΩE under the patriarch.

THIS man and woman when they have left the ark are raiſing up their right hands; but to what part of the Moſaical hiſtory does this relate? In Mr. Crofts', Dr. Hunter's, and the Pembrokian medal, the man is repreſented as rather young, and with a ſort of Phrygian cap [*n*]; whereas in Mr. Bryant's engraving he hath a venerable beard, and no covering on his head. The Philip likewiſe on the other ſide of the medaglion is very different from Mr. Bryant's.

THE next circumſtance is a bird perched upon the top of the ark, which cannot be either Noah's dove or raven; for the latter does not return at all; and the former, when it comes back, is taken immediately into the ark by the patriarch.

As for the bird on the wing with a branch of a tree in its claws, this alſo is not agreeable to the book of Geneſis, which expreſſly ſtates that it was a *leaf* and not a *branch* of an olive-tree, which is much more probable, as it is more eaſily carried by a bird of ſo ſmall a ſize as a pidgeon. This leaf is alſo ſaid to be placed in the pidgeon's mouth, and not in its claws.

HAVING thus endeavoured to ſhew that none of theſe particulars are properly applicable to the Moſaical account of the deluge, I ſhall now proceed to ſuggeſt that they relate to Deucalion's flood, as deſcribed by Ovid and Plutarch [*o*].

(*m*) Sir Walter Rawleigh, who hath given us much learning upon the ſubject of the deluge from Beroſus and others, ſuppoſes Noah's wife to have been named Titea; but I know not on what authority. See his Hiſtory of the World.

(*n*) Et capita ante aras Phrygio velamur amictu. Aen. iii. 515.

(*o*) As alſo Lucian, Δευκαλιωνα επι τουτοις, και την μεγαλην επι τουτω τω βαπτισιν, και λαρνακα μιαν, λειψανον τω ανθρωπινω γενους φυλαττουσαν, και εκ λιθων ανθρωπους παλιν. Lucian De Saltatione, p. 511. ed. Bourdelot. where it is propoſed as a ſubject for a dance, and contains precisely the circumſtances on the Apamean coin.

OVID

Ovid informs us, that Decucalion and Pyrrha escaped in a small vessel [*parva rate*] [*p*]; that they were the only surviving persons; and that immediately upon leaving their boat they proceeded to consult the goddess Themis, by whom they are advised to cast stones behind them in order to repeople the earth [*q*]. With regard to the birds also, Plutarch informs us [*r*], that Deucalion judged of the state of the weather by their returning or not, which *seems* to be represented by the one resting on the ark, and the other being on the wing. As for the branch in the bird's claws, it is not agreeable to the Mosaical account, but might very possibly be part of the tradition delivered down to Plutarch, though he omits stating it.

Nothing remains to be accounted for but the inscription of ΝΩΕ, which I conceive to be the dual of εγω, and that it is the beginning of the line in Ovid,

"Nos duo turba sumus" [*s*],

being with the greatest propriety applicable to Deucalion and Pyrrha, as the only survivors of the calamity.

[*p*] Hic ubi Deucalion (nam caetera texerat aequor)
Cum consorte tori *parvâ rate* vectus adhaesit. Ovid. Met. L. i.

[*q*] The two right hands upraised are therefore employed in the very act of casting the stones behind them; nor can this be an attitude of surprize, as Mr. Bryant supposes, which requires both hands to be uplifted, and the palm of the hand to be turned the different way. The goddess Themis likewise directs Deucalion and Pyrrha *velare caput*; and thus are they represented in the medals of Mr. Crosts and Dr. Hunter; as also in all the engravings but Mr. Bryant's.

[*r*] In his treatise de Solertiâ animalium, cited by Mr. Bryant.

[*s*] Nos duo turba sumus, possedit caetera pontus. Ovid. Met. L. i.
O soror, ô conjux, ô foemina sola superstes. Ibid.

And again,

Nunc genus in nobis restat mortale *duobus*;
Sic visum superis: hominumque exempla manemus. Ibid.

I AM aware that the dual of εγω is commonly ſpelt νωι; but, beſides that greater miſtakes in orthography are not unuſual in inſcriptions, I do not ſee why νωε may not be as proper as σφωε the dual of *ſui*.

Τις τ' αρ σφωε Θεων εριδι ξυνεηκε μαχεσθαι. Iliad. A. 8.

Αμμε likewiſe becomes the dual of εγω in both the Doric and Æolic dialects. — E alſo makes the common termination of the dual in the fifth declenſion of nouns in the Greek language, none of which (on the other hand) end in I.

To this it may be added, that Deucalion and Pyrrha, being both comprehended under the word νωε, in the ſenſe I have contended for, it was not neceſſary to inſcribe both names on the two pannels, one of which hath no characters of any ſort, in either Dr. Hunter's medal, or the other engravings I have before mentioned.

PYRRHA likewiſe, according to Ovid's account, ſeems to have been a perſonage of equal importance with her huſband Deucalion, as the propagation of the female part of the human race depended ſolely upon her [*t*], but by no means upon Noah's wife.

MR. BRYANT indeed (with others) ſuppoſes that all accounts of great floods which happened in very ancient times, muſt be referred to Noah's deluge, becauſe it was a general one, which overſpread the whole ſurface of the globe, and which calamity therefore could only be delivered down from the ſurvivors of the patriarchal family.

HAVING examined however with ſome care (and as I hope without prejudice) the three chapters of Geneſis which ſtate the circumſtances that happened during this deluge, I cannot ſee any reaſons for ſuppoſing it to have been general.

[*t*] Et de foemineo reparata eſt foemina jactu. Ovid. Met. L. i.

BUT

BUT before I enter into this diſcuſſion, I muſt premiſe, that I underſtand the following terms in the following ſenſes.

THE *earth* is to be applied only to the diſtrict in which this calamity happened, the ſynonyms in moſt languages being equally confined from the context, in their ſignification.

THUS in the 12th book of the Odyſſey γαια only means an *iſland.*

——— ουδε τις αλλη

Φαινεται γαιαων, αλλ' ουρανος ηδε θαλασσα. Od. M. 403.

It ſometimes is ſtill more circumſcribed, and relates to the ſoil immediately under our feet, as in the firſt book of the Iliad.

Ποτι δε σκηπτουν βαλε γαιη, as alſo,

——— ρεε δ' αιματι γαια.

Iliad Δ. 451.

The ſenſe of the word (*terra*) equally depends upon the context, and does not always import the whole ſurface of the globe, as in the following line of Virgil.

Poſtquam altum tenuere artes, nec jam amplius ullae
Apparent terrae———

SOMETIMES no more than a very ſmall portion of ſoil, as

——— haud paravero,
Quod aut avarus ut Chremes terrâ premam;
Diſcinctus aut perdam ut nepos.

Horat. Epod. i.

I SHALL now ſhew that *the earth* is neceſſarily uſed in a confined ſenſe in ſome of the chapters of Geneſis which relate to the flood.

"THERE were Giants in the *earth* in thoſe days," Gen. vi. 4. where it muſt mean the adjacent country, for I believe it never was contended, that there were at this time giants over the whole ſurface of the globe. The ſenſe of the word being thus

aſcertained when it is firſt introduced in the account of the deluge, it ſeems to follow, that it muſt continue to be uſed in the ſame ſignification, when it occurs afterwards in the Moſaical account of the flood.

THUS again, "and the flood was forty days upon the earth, "and the waters increaſed and bare up the ark, and it was lift "up *above the earth.*"

WHEN the *earth* is thus introduced a ſecond time, it muſt mean only the ſpace of ground which was under the ark [*u*]; whilſt it is alſo expoſitory of the ſame word uſed in the preceding part of the verſe, which cannot therefore reaſonably be extended beyond the diſtrict.

THE next term which hath occaſioned the miſunderſtanding the Moſaical account is that of *Heaven*, the ſenſe of which again, and its ſynonyms, in moſt languages, depends upon the context, as it often ſignifies no more than the atmoſphere over a particular diſtrict, or ſcarcely more ſometimes than the vertical point over our heads.

THUS in the 12th book of the Odyſſey ουρανος means only the atmoſphere above a high rock.

——ουρανον ευρυν ικανει
Οξειη κορυφη—— Od. M. 74.

AND again in the laſt book of the Iliad,

——λειβε δε οινον,
Ουρανον εισανιδων, —— Il. Ω. 306.

Where it is confined to the clouds above the perſon who is to make the libation.

THE Latin term *Coelum* is often likewiſe not applied to more than the atmoſphere of a diſtrict, or a ſtill ſmaller portion; thus in the often cited line of Horace,

Coelum non animum mutant, qui trans mare currunt;

[*u*] Gen. vii. 16.

Whilſt

Whilſt Virgil confines it to the void ſpace above a tree;

Exiit ad coelum ramis felicibus arbos.

Thus Jacob's ladder reaches from the earth to *heaven*, Gen. xxviii. 12, in which paſſage nothing more than a very ſmall point can be implied.

As again, "A tower whoſe top may reach to heaven," Gen. xi. 4.

THERE is a third expreſſion uſed in theſe three chapters of Geneſis, which it may be right to explain, viz. the fountains *of the deep*, as it is much relied upon by the partiſans of an univerſal deluge, and ſuppoſed to account for the extraordinary height of the waters; whilſt ſome conceive it to ſignify the ſea, and others ſubterraneous waters incloſed within the ſurface of our globe. I underſtand, however, by this expreſſion, nothing more than the fountains of the atmoſphere, the word *deep* in ſome languages relating to what is over our heads, as well as under our feet.

THE term, therefore, by which *the deep* is rendered in the Septuagint, is αβυσσος [x], which ſignifies indeed *without bottom*, but for the ſame reaſon *without top*.

[x] This term occurs in Pſ. xlii. 7. "*Deep* calleth unto *deep* at the noiſe of thy water-ſpouts," which in the Septuagint runs αβυσσος αβυσσον επικαλειται εις φωνην των καταρακτων σου. It is impoſſible that the Pſalmiſt can here allude to either waters under the ſurface of our globe, or to the ſea which is at ſuch a diſtance from Judea, but, on the contrary, it muſt relate to what is above him from καταρακται being mentioned, which always ſignify the precipitate deſcent of a river. Thus alſo αβυσσος is joined to the καταρακται του ουρανου, Gen. vii. 11. as again Gen. viii. 2. which being ſtopped, the rain from Heaven is reſtrained.

This word (viz. αβυσσος) is twice uſed likewiſe in the Revelations, viz. ix. 11. and xx. 3, in both which verſes it muſt mean, probably, ſome inferior part of the heavens, and neither the bottom of the ſea, or waters within the central parts of our earth.

This word is more properly αβυλος, but Suidas informs us Ιωνες δε τον βυθον βυσσον φασιν.

THUS

THUS *profundus* is applied by Virgil to Heaven;

Terraſque tractuſque maris, coelumque profundum,

Ecl. iv.

As alſo *altus* to ſignify either *high* or *deep*, as in the line of Virgil,

Poſtquam *altum* tenuere rates.

HAVING thus endeavoured to fix the ſenſe in which the 6th, 7th, and 8th chapters of Geneſis have introduced theſe expreſſions, I will beg any candid reader to peruſe them, ſubſtituting my acceptation of theſe words, inſtead of the terms in which theſe chapters are rendered either into Greek, Latin, or Engliſh.

IT is proper, however, that I ſhould here ſtate the only text [*y*], which may ſeem to require being underſtood to extend to a general deluge.

"And the waters prevailed exceedingly upon the earth, and "all the high hills that were under the *whole heaven* were "covered.

"Fifteen cubits upwards did the waters prevail, and the "mountains were covered." Gen. vii. 19 and 20.

THAT the *whole* heaven can here only imply the atmoſphere above the diſtrict in which the deluge happened, ſeems evident from the following reaſons:

THE hiſtory of this flood is commonly ſuppoſed to have been written by Moſes; and if he received the tradition from Noah with the utmoſt accuracy, yet the Patriarch could only give an account of what he was able to obſerve himſelf, and therefore

[*y*] *All* fleſh is likewiſed uſed, Gen. ix. 15, and occurs alſo twice more in the ſame chapter; but I ſhould conceive, that theſe general expreſſions muſt be confined in their ſignification for the reaſons which I ſhall give in relation to Gen. vii. 19, 20.

theſe

theſe words muſt be confined to the diſtrict in which the ark floated. It muſt be added to this, that it is ſtated, the mountains were covered with water to the depth of fifteen cubits; this cannot, however, relate to every mountain on our globe; but to thoſe only which Noah might be acquainted with the height of; even Mount Ararat, on which the ark reſted, is by no means the higheſt mountain of our earth.

Besides this, ſuch general words (as *all*) muſt eternally be confined in their ſignification.

Thus when it is ſaid by St. Luke, that there went out a decree from Caeſar Auguſtus that *all the world* ſhould be taxed, Luke ii. 1. [*y*], this can only refer to that part of it which was under the Roman government; for Parthia (not far from Judea) was ſo far from being ſubjected to the Roman yoke, that they had, not many years before this, totally defeated Craſſus's army [*z*].

Thus alſo, when Petronius ſays,

Orbem jam totum victor Romanus habebat,
Qua mare, qua tellus, qua ſidus currit utrumque,

it is well known, that there were many parts even then unſubdued.

[*y*] The expreſſion in the Greek is πασαν την οικουμενην, but this is equally inaccurate, if the words are tranſlated in their more literal ſenſe, and confined to the inhabited part of the globe. Thus alſo three of the Evangeliſts inform us (Matthew xxvii. 45. επι πασαν την γην. Mark xv. 33. and Luke xxiii. 44. εφ' ολην την γην, that darkneſs prevailed over the whole earth for three hours after the crucifixion;) this, however, muſt relate only to Judea, for ſuch a moſt remarkable event is not mentioned by any other writer who lived at the time or later. The elder Pliny muſt have probably remembered this darkneſs if it had extended to Italy; and he would certainly have introduced it into his Natural Hiſtory, as he hath a chapter, intituled, "Dierum lux nocte," l. ii. c. 33. which would have been followed by "Noctium tenebrae die."

[*z*] "The Lord God of heaven hath given me *all* the kingdoms of the earth," Ezra ſpeaking in the name of Cyrus, i. 2 and 2d.

To

'To underſtand therefore ſuch words as always uſed in one and the ſame extenſive ſenſe, is to multiply moſt unneceſſarily inconſiſtencies and abſurdities.

IF what I have thus contended for, with regard to the deluge being only a partial one in the time of Noah, is admitted, all difficulties are removed.

FOR example, no calculations (which I have ſeen) have made the ark of a ſufficient ſize to hold all the animals of the globe, with proviſions to ſubſiſt them for more than twelve months; but it might have been large enough to hold all the uſeful animals of the diſtrict; nor is there any occaſion from the Moſaical account, to ſuppoſe that lions, tigers &c. were included; for the general words (as in other caſes) are to receive a reaſonable conſtruction; and no one but a very zealous naturaliſt would think of preſerving noxious animals. As for the mention of both *clean* and *unclean* beaſts, this extends no further than to thoſe which were eaten or not; a camel or aſs in this ſenſe is an unclean beaſt.

AGAIN, if the deluge was univerſal, there muſt have been a new creation of inſects; nor is it ſtated that Noah preſerved theſe; nor could he indeed collect them in their different metamorphoſes.

FOR the ſame reaſon the animals of America, and which were never ſeen till the diſcovery of that quarter of the globe, will occaſion no difficulty; nor the black or many other ſpecies of the human kind.

I SHALL here alſo ſuggeſt another objection to an univerſal deluge, which, I believe, hath never yet been inſiſted upon, which is, that all the ſea-fiſh of the globe muſt have been deſtroyed, or thoſe of the freſh water. For Dr. Keill conceives that it would have required twenty-two oceans to have covered the

the tops of the higheſt mountains; and allowing this addition to conſiſt of either ſalt or freſh water, the deſtruction of one or other muſt have enſued, by continuing more than a year in an element ſo almoſt entirely altered.

It is admitted, that ſome have endeavoured to ſupport their opinions with regard to the univerſality of the deluge from foſſil-fiſh being found on high mountains. I cannot, however, think that much is to be inferred from this ſort of proof, and from the following reaſons:

In the firſt place, well-aſſerted facts of foſſil-fiſh being found in ſuch ſituations are not very frequent, becauſe every collector is very willing to believe that his ſpecimens were procured from ſuch elevated ſpots, as the circumſtance in ſome meaſure increaſes their value, and certainly their curioſity.

In the next place, ſuppoſing the ſea to have been freſhened in the proportion of twenty-two to one, what could have been the inducement to thoſe of the ſalt-water to leave the more briny part at the bottom, in order to reach ſuch waters as they could not ſo well ſubſiſt in? Beſides this, many fiſh never leave the bottom, particularly moſt of the cruſtaceous ones.

If it be then aſked, how ſuch foſſil-fiſh can ever be found upon the tops of mountains? my anſwer is, that ſuch inſtances are much more naturally accounted for, by ſuppoſing the mountains to have been thrown up from the bottom of the ſea by earthquakes, or volcanos. As for foſſil-ſhells procured in the inland parts of countries, in all ſuch inſtances the ſtrata ſhould be extenſive, as otherwiſe they may have been depoſited there by ſome accident. It hath alſo been obſerved, that the ſhells which are moſt commonly found in a foſſil ſtate are ſcarcely ever to be procured recent, and *vice verſâ*. The contrary to which muſt follow if a general deluge were the cauſe.

ON the whole, therefore, I ſhould conceive that there had been a great flood at Apamea [*a*], whilſt Alexander was high prieſt; which event is commemorated by a medaglion repreſenting Deucalion's deluge; it being the moſt conſiderable calamity of this kind which was known to the Gentile world.

[*a*] This town is ſurrounded by three rivers, from which circumſtance Bochart ſuppoſes it to have obtained the name of κιβωτος, as the port of Alexandria was likewiſe ſo called from the bay ſurrounding it, Phaleg. *l.* i. c. 3.

1

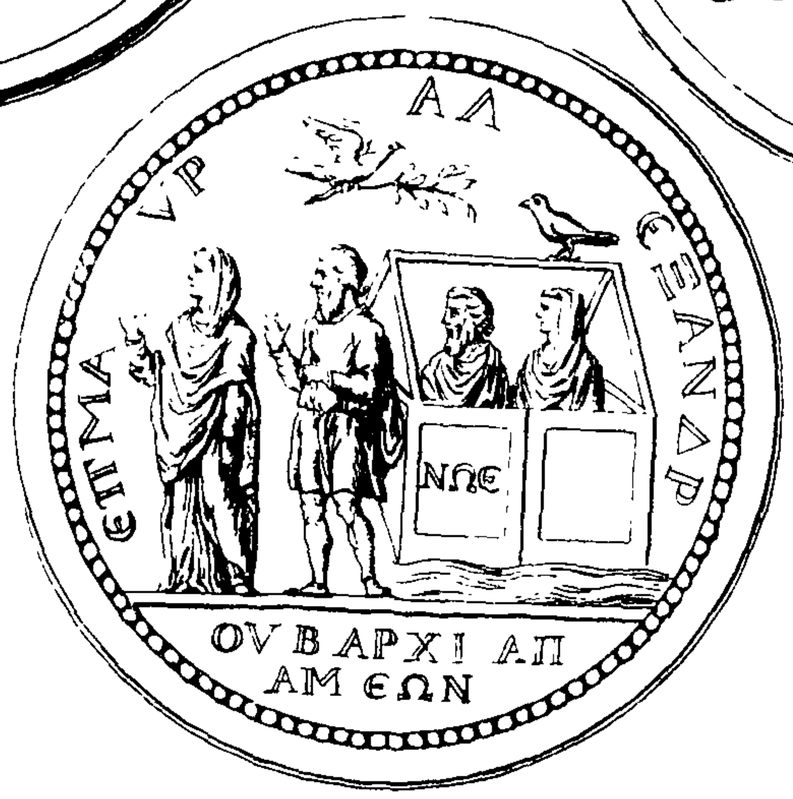


ÆR. MAX.
MUS. FLOR.



3

Bryant



2



Falconeri.

4



Muſ. Pembroch.

Bryant

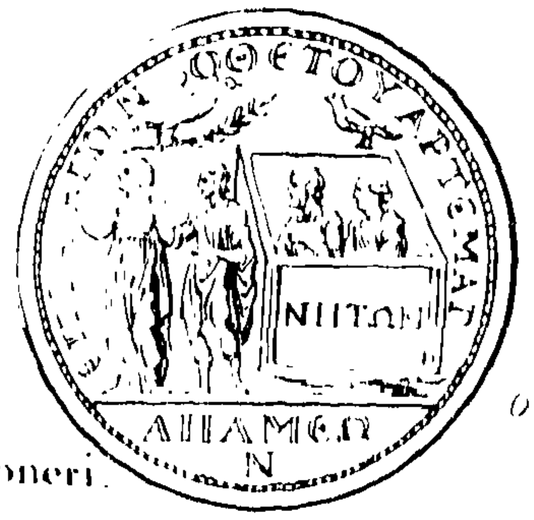


7

MUS — 5 — REG. GALL.







Falconeri.

XXII. *Obſervations on the* Apamean *Medal. By the Rev. Dr.* Milles, *Dean of* Exeter, *and P. A. S.*

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Feb. 27, 1777.

THE very learned and ingenious Mr. Bryant having directed the attention of the public to the Apamean medal, I hope it will not be thought an unacceptable or a uſeleſs attempt, to clear up ſome points relative to that coin; and to enquire into the proofs of its authenticity, that the learned may be better enabled to judge of the opinions which have been formed upon it [*a*].

This medaillon was ſtruck at Apamea in Phrygia, during the reign of the elder Philip, and firſt communicated to the public by Ottavio Falconeri, a ſkilful Italian medaliſt, as we may infer from the learned Spanheim's dedicating to him his book *De uſu et praeſtantiâ Numiſmatum.* Falconeri's treatiſe on this coin was firſt printed at Rome in 1668, afterwards added to the ſecond edition of Seguin's Numiſmata, Paris 1684, and a third time reprinted in the tenth volume of Gronovius's Greek Antiquities [*b*].

He profeſſes to have ſeen no leſs than three different ſpecimens of this coin: one in the Grand Duke's gallery at Florence; a ſecond in the cabinet of Cardinal Ottoboni; and a third in the collection of Prince Chigi. From the firſt of theſe, as the moſt

[*a*] See Plate XX. fig. i. ii. iii.

[*b*] Page 678.

perfect, he took his drawing, and formed his diſſertation; wherein he poſitively aſſerts, and appeals to Seguin, Gothofred, and others, as joint witneſſes, that the letters NΩE are expreſſed *not obſcurely* on the ark, in the reverſe; but that in the Ottoboni coin the N only is viſible; and in Prince Chigi's all three letters are effaced.

HE endeavours to illuſtrate this medaillon by one of Sept. Severus, ſtruck alſo at Apamea, and engraved from a drawing ſent him by Monſr. Seguin [c]. The figures and emblems on the reverſe of both coins are nearly ſimilar; the principal difference conſiſting in the names and titles of the perſons, and in the letters inſcribed on the ark; which in Severus's coin he took to be NHTΩN, in that of Philip NΩE. From theſe figures and emblems, but more eſpecially from the ark, and the name of the Patriarch ſuppoſed to be inſcribed on it, Falconeri ſeems to have thought that both theſe reverſes alluded to the Noachic deluge.

THIS opinion remained for ſome time uncontroverted in print, but uncredited by all ſkilful medaliſts, at a time when medals were not ſo well underſtood, nor ſo critically examined as they are at preſent: and, indeed, the firſt ſubſequent examination of the Ottoboni coin, which was made in 1697, proved unfavourable, for the legend on the ark appeared to be more perfect than Falconeri had repreſented it; and the letters were found to be NEΩK, not N with an obliteration of two letters, as he had ſtated the matter, and much leſs NΩE, as on the Mediccan coin. In conſequence of this, Monſ. Vaillant, who publiſhed his book of Greek coins a few years after, admits the Ottoboni medal into his catalogue with the legend NEΩK, which he renders *Neocororum*, and is followed in that reading and interpretation by all the ſubſequent medaliſts.

[c] Fig. v, vi, vii.

FROM

FROM his quoting the Ottoboni inſtead of the Florentine coin for this reverſe, among the medals of Philip, it may be ſuppoſed either that he doubted the authenticity of the latter, or at leaſt thought the former a more reſponſible coin.

THIS diſagreement in the legend of the two medals materially affected Falconeri's opinion, by depriving him of the Patriarch's name, on which the ſtrength of his argument depended. And, indeed, if both coins had been genuine, and the difference was ſuppoſed to ariſe only from a miſtake in the mint-maſter, the error would more juſtly have been imputed to the Medicean coin, from the improbability of its bearing the name of Noah; whereas the word ΝΕΩΚ, on the other coin, expreſſed a title commonly born by the Aſiatic cities, and frequently expreſſed on their medals.

IT happens unfortunately, that the coin on which Falconeri's diſſertation is founded, has been proved to be ſpurious. Profeſſor Gori, the keeper of the Grand Duke's collection, whoſe ſkill in medals, and particularly in thoſe under his care, gives the greateſt weight to his opinion, pronounces it to be a caſt coin, deſcribes its imperfections, and points out the particular appearance of its ſurface, common to all ſuch counterfeit coins, by ſaying, *Porulis et ramentis ſcatet:* Unwilling, however, to diſcredit either the Duke's cabinet, or Falconeri's judgement, he ſuggeſts that this counterfeit piece was ſubſtituted by fraud in the place of the genuine coin deſcribed by the author [*d*]. But if this is fact, may we not aſk, What is become of that genuine coin? Was it ſtolen, that the fraudulent profeſſor might keep it for ever ſecluded from human inſpection, and confine the enjoyment of it to his own ſole view? Would he not rather

[*d*] Muſeum Florentinum, tom. iii. p. 149.

have

have been tempted to diſpoſe of it to ſome of thoſe royal and magnificent collectors, who are known to ſpare no expence in the purchaſe of ſuch valuable Uniques? But no *genuine* coin of this impreſſion, with a fair legend on the ark, is to be found in any other public collection; at leaſt as far as we are informed by the publiſhers of medals. There is one of them indeed in the king of France's cabinet; but the Abbé Barthelemy, who is a very learned and ſkilful medaliſt, expreſſes his doubts, even almoſt to a diſbelief, of the authenticity of that coin. His words are [*e*]: "The medaillon of Philip, with the ſame type, "is preſerved in the king's cabinet; it is perfectly like to that "Falconeri has engraved, but the two or three letters on the "ark are entirely defaced. I have never been ſatisfied with "this medal; the firſt glance of it is very unfavourable, and "our ſuſpicions encreaſe in proportion as we examine it with "more attention." There is another of theſe medals in the collection of the Earl of Pembroke [*f*], repreſented in the annexed plate, Fig. iv. which is all that the preſent ſituation of that cabinet will permit us to ſay of it; but I hope it will not be thought a bold, or diſreſpectful conjecture, to ſuppoſe, that whenever that collection ſhall be ſubmitted to public view, this medaillon will prove to be *ejuſdem farinae* with that of Florence; and I am the more juſtified in this opinion, from the opportunities which I have had of examining three different ſpecimens of the ſame coin, all poſſeſſed by gentlemen of great worth, and moſt approved ſkill in the ſcience. The firſt, which may boaſt with that at Florence, of being in the moſt entire preſervation, belongs to the Rev. Mr. Crofts; the figures and legend are perfect, and the dark-brown patten, ſo often ſeen on genuine coins, is well imitated. Mr. Duane poſſeſſes an-

[*e*] In his letter to Mr. Combe, on this ſubject.
[*f*] Fig. i. Portus & navigia, pl. lxxix.

other of theſe pieces, caſt (as it ſhould ſeem) in the ſame mould; the metal is more yellow, and it pretends not to thoſe external marks of antiquity which appear on Mr. Crofts's coin. The third is in Dr. Hunter's cabinet, and (either on purpoſe, or by accident) has been broken into three or four parts, but is joined and holden together in a rim of braſs. It bears the moſt exact reſemblance to the other two, except in point of preſervation. The worthy poſſeſſors of theſe medals, who ſo obligingly favoured me with a ſight of them, will not be diſpleaſed, I hope, with my declaring from the moſt thorough conviction (and poſſibly not differing from them in opinion), that all three coins are ſpurious, and ſeem to have been caſt in the ſame mould.

FROM theſe facts it ſhould follow, that the Ottoboni and Chigi medaillons are the only *genuine* pieces extant of Philip *with this reverſe.* Of the latter we know nothing except the name: but the former has ſtood the examination of medaliſts, is ſupported by the authority of Vaillant, and may have given birth to the ſeveral ſpurious coins which perhaps were caſt in imitation of it. For, whatever may be the real hiſtory repreſented on this medaillon, the ark ſwimming on the waters, the two perſons in it, the dove with the branch, and the word ΝΕΩΚ on the ark, ſo little different from ΝΩΕ, might have ſuggeſted the firſt hint, and have been the great inducement to the falſifiers of coins to give importance and rarity to a genuine medaillon of this impreſſion, by changing the word ΝΕΩΚ into ΝΩΕ. Alterations more bold and difficult have been frequently practiſed to impoſe upon collectors; and the deceit of changing a few letters only on a genuine coin, is much more excuſable than fabricating a falſe one, eſpecially if it is formed without an archetype, and has no other foundation but the fancy of the maker. The Italians, who are very converſant in this kind of manufacture,

manufacture, conſider it as a venial ſin, and the Abbé Venuti, ſpeaking of the Florentine coin, ſuppoſes the word NΩE to have been formed on this, and on all the other genuine medals of this impreſſion, by an operation which he calls *poliſhing the coin*, as if repairing and falſifying were ſynonymous terms. The paſſage, however, to which I refer, confirms what has been before advanced concerning the legend of this medal [*g*].

THOUGH this was manifeſtly the moſt eaſy and natural method of new modelling the coin in queſtion, yet it is ſomewhat remarkable, that no *genuine medal* of Philip ſo altered exiſts in any collection. Poſſibly its extreme rarity may have prevented the fabricators from trying this experiment on it; for the fraud appears to have been uniformly carried on (as is evident from the above-mentioned ſpecimens), by caſting new medals, not by repairing old ones; ſo that on the whole we may ſubſcribe to Gori's opinion with which he concludes his diſſertation on this coin:

" PROFECTO neminem fore arbitror, qui turbatis corruptiſque " hoc loci numiſmatis credere velit, in arcâ ſcriptum nomen " NΩE [*b*]."

IT is rather unfortunate, that one of Falconeri's engravings ſhould repreſent a falſe medal [*i*], and the other miſrepreſent a true one [*k*]; for we may allow the genuineneſs of Severus's coin, which is now in the French king's cabinet on the united authority of

[*g*] Maluimus in numiſmate cujus lectio difficultatis plena eſt, accuratiſſimi Vaillantii auctoritatem ſequi: plurimos quippe alios in diverſas rapuit ſententias. Alii, ut in eo deſcriptum adfererent Noachi ciboton, et cataclyſmum, in navigii latere NΩE ſcriptum voluere. Alii in eodem loco NHTΩN hoc eſt Μαγνητων και Αταξεων ομονοια legerunt: nam in *perpoliendo* nummo illud NΩE efformatum putamus, quod dicendum de genuinis omnibus, in quibus ita diſpoſitae literae obſervantur. In Num. Alb. Vatic. Tab. xlix. n. ii. p. 90.

[*b*] P. 154. [*i*] Fig. ii. [*k*] Fig. vi.

Monſ.

Monſ. Vaillant and the Abbé Barthelemy. It is, however, ſurprizing that Seguin's drawing of that coin ſhould repreſent the word on the ark to be NHTΩN, and that Vaillant ſhould read it NEΩK as on the Ottoboni coin; but it is ſtill more extraordinary, that Seguin ſhould correct his firſt error by a ſecond; and acknowledge in the preface to Falconeri's diſſertation [*l*], that on a more accurate inſpection of the coin, he found the word on the ark to be NΩE not NHTΩN, as he had before repreſented it; the two firſt letters of NΩE, he ſays, were manifeſtly apparent, and the laſt not obſcurely diſcernible. But can any credit be given to two ſuch contradictory accounts? and how can either of them be received againſt the more eſtabliſhed authority of Vaillant, and all the other ſubſequent medaliſts?

FROM the reſemblance in the figures and emblems on the medaillons of Severus and Philip, it is natural to infer that the word inſcribed on the ark was the ſame in both; and ſo it appears by the Seguin and Ottoboni coins. On the other hand, the word NΩE is not to be found on any except the ſpurious one at Florence, and thoſe which have been fabricated in the ſame manner. The true reading, therefore, being reſtored in the word NEΩK, the city where the coin was ſtruck, as well as the hiſtory repreſented on the coin, are materially affected by the change, Theſe two ſyllables will then be the initials of NEΩKOPΩN inſtead of terminating the word MAPNHTΩN, and conſequently the city of Magneſia will loſe all its right to this medal. Apamea will enjoy it ſolely, and the union or ὁμόνοια between thoſe two cities, ſpoken of by Venuti and other writers,

[*l*] Prefixed to his notes on the Athletic inſcriptions, and alſo to his Diſſertation printed in Gronovius.

will vaniſh. It will be no leſs fruitleſs to ſearch for thoſe ideal perſonages, who are ſuppoſed, by a very learned and ingenious author, to be here pointed out under the title of APTIMAΓ-NHTEΣ [*m*], and the legend without force or alteration will ſtand thus:

ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ. ΑΡΤΕΜΑ. Γ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ ΝΕΩ,

thus rendered by Monſ. Vaillant,

Sub Artema Agonotheta tertium Apamenſium Neocororum.

This explanation is the more natural, as the name of Artemas occurs on a coin of Caracalla, ſtruck alſo at Apamea:

ΕΠΙ ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓ ΑΠΑΜΕΙΣ ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΦΡΥΓΙΑΣ [*n*].

There is alſo a praetor called Artemas, or Artemagus, on a coin of Herennia Etruſcilla, ſtruck at Magneſia ad Sipylum (a different city from that ad Maeandrum), which is mentioned by Vaillant and Harduin, who read the legend thus,

ΕΠΙ ΣΤΡ. ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΣΙΠΥΛΟΥ [*o*].

HARDUIN ſuppoſes this to have been the ſame perſon who was praetor of Apamea: "Quem & Apamenſium Phrygiae praetorem fuiſſe ſuo loco vidimus [*p*]." Probably the word Αρτεμαγ may be a contraction of the proper name Artemagus, or Artemagoras; otherwiſe the Γ muſt be a numeral, and the legend will be Artema tertium, as on the other coin; but beſides the diſtance of thoſe cities from each other, it ſeems a very improbable ſuppoſition, that the ſame man ſhould be recorded as praetor,

[*m*] Bryant's Vindicaton of the Apamean medal, p. 13.

[*n*] Harduin's Nummi Antiqui, p. 25. and Vaillant, p. 98. This coin is in the French king's cabinet.

[*o*] This legend ſeems to confute Gori's opinion, that in the word APTE-MAΓNHTΩN on Severus's medal, the ſyllable MA ſtands for the laſt in APTEMA and the firſt in MAΓNHTΩN; but beſides that this word does not really exiſt on the medal, he would be at a loſs to produce authority for ſuch a contradiction.

[*p*] Nummi Antiqui, p. 98.

and

and in the ſame period of his office in both cities. This point, however, is not material to the preſent queſtion. But it has been objected with regard to the word NEΩK, that Apamea does not appear, by any coin or other record, to have enjoyed the Neocorate, though the city of Magneſia did, as is evident from a medal of Maximus quoted by Harduin [*q*],

ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΗΣ ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΟΣ.

This objection, however, being merely negative, may not be thought concluſive; for, if the legends on theſe medaillons of Severus and Philip are really genuine, they will be ſufficient to eſtabliſh this fact.

WHAT has been already ſaid relates only to the authenticity, condition, and legend of the medals in queſtion; but the moſt material, and indeed the moſt difficult part of the enquiry, is the import of theſe emblematical figures on their reverſe, and the hiſtory intended to be repreſented by them. The public has already before them three different opinions on this ſubject. That which aroſe from Falconeri's diſſertation, and is adopted by Mr. Bryant [*r*], which ſuppoſes this reverſe to allude to the Noachic deluge: That of Vaillant, and other ſubſequent medaliſts, who make it to be deſcriptive of Deucalion's flood: And the third opinion is that of Father Harduin, which differs from both theſe, and, as uſual, is ſingular in its kind; for he tells us, that the ark floating among the waters repreſents the ſituation of Apamea between the rivers Marſyas, Obrimas, and Orgas; that the figures within and without the ark denote the Emperor and Empreſs; their up-lifted hands, and the dove with the branch, are emblems of the peace and tranquillity procured for Aſia in general, and for this city in particular, by Severus's conqueſt over the Parthians. It may be ſufficient merely to mention this laſt, which ſeems to want both date and concluſion.

[*q*] Nummi Antiqui, p. 97.

[*r*] Analyſis of Antient Mythology, vol. ii. p. 230.

THE firſt of theſe hypotheſes, as I have before obſerved, was very materially affected by the acknowledged ſpuriouſneſs of the Florentine coin. The ſuppoſed name of the Patriarch being rejected, and the true legend reſtored, the figures and emblems are left to tell their own ſtory, whether it relate to the flood of Noah, to that of Deucalion, or to any other event of a different nature and period.

IT is *confeſſedly difficult to* ſuppoſe, that a fact in the Moſaical hiſtory ſhould be repreſented and deſcribed on a coin of the lower empire, ſtruck in a city of Aſia, where neither the inhabitants nor the mint-maſters can well be ſuppoſed to have been either Jews or Chriſtians. Had they been ſo, they could not have undertaken to record this event in ſo public a manner, without the permiſſion of the Emperor; and ſhould it be further ſuppoſed, that Philip was a convert to Chriſtianity, which thoſe learned writers, Monſ. Tillemont, and Huet, have attempted to prove [*s*], yet even this would not ſolve the difficulty, becauſe the ſame reaſon could not be applicable to the ſimilar reverſe on the coin of Severus, who was confeſſedly a heathen, and a violent perſecutor of the Chriſtians.

IT would certainly give great weight to this opinion, if ſome characteriſtical marks could be pointed out on the coin peculiar to the ſcriptural hiſtory of the flood, and not applicable to that of Deucalion. And ſuch at firſt ſight appear to be the two birds, one repreſented ſitting on the ark, the other flying towards it with a branch in its claws; provided that the former be ſuppoſed a raven, and the latter a dove; becauſe both are mentioned as having been ſent out by Noah to diſcover whether the waters were abated: but, on the other

[*s*] And were ably anſwered by father Monelia, a Dominican Frier, in a treatiſe intituled, De utriuſque Philippi Religione. See Gori's Diſſertation on this coin.

hand, it cannot be aſſerted, that the former is intended for a raven; and if it were, medaliſts have found an alluſion from the blackneſs of that bird to the antient name of Apamea [*t*], which according to Pliny [*u*] was firſt called Celaenae, and according to Stephanus Κελαιναι. The eagle alſo (for ſo Harduin thinks it to be) was an emblem of this city, and appears on its medals; and the bird on the wing reſembles an eagle on Severus's medaillon, though in Philip's it is more like a dove. But theſe two birds are equivocal emblems, for according to Plutarch [*x*] the dove attended Deucalion, and was a token to him of the increaſing tempeſt by his return to the ark, and of fair weather when he came back no more; and Abydenus, as quoted by Euſebius [*y*] in relation to that deluge, ſpeaks of *birds* in the plural as thrice ſent out by Siſuthrus. The branch, indeed, is not taken notice of by any profane hiſtorian, and the Moſaical account repreſents only a leaf in the bird's mouth.

THE tradition of the Deucalionic flood being ſuppoſed more recent, and better preſerved in the minds of the heathen, by forming a remarkable aera in their hiſtory of the world, was a more probable object of their attention; eſpecially when it is conſidered, that many ſuch alluſions to different parts of profane hiſtory are to be found on their coins; but the repreſentation of Noah's flood would be a ſingle inſtance of ſcripture hiſtory recorded on a heathen medal.

IT is with the greateſt diffidence that I preſume to doubt any opinion advanced by that moſt learned and ingenious author, whoſe Analyſis of antient Mythology has enriched the public with ſuch a treaſure of learning, and who, with a goodneſs of

[*t*] Corvum vero ob nigrorem ſymbolum eſſe quandoque Celaenes, Gori's Differt. de Num. Apam. in Muſeo Florentino, t. iii. p. 154.

[*u*] L. v. c. 29.

[*x*] De Solertia animal. Tom. ii. p. 968. edit. Francfort, 1599.

[*y*] Praep. Evangel. p. 414, Paris, 1628.

heart

heart equal to the extent of his abilities, has applied them to illuſtrate many important truths revealed in ſacred hiſtory. As he wanted not various and abundant proofs of this event, he may well be juſtified in illuſtrating his other arguments by the mention of the Apamean coin of Philip; but as his reaſoning, ſo far as the letters on the ark are concerned, was founded on the ſuppoſed authenticity of this coin, for which he ought not to be made anſwerable; the caſe may poſſibly now appear to him in a different light, at leaſt he will only draw his concluſions from the number, attitude, &c. of the figures on the reverſe: and, though the words NEΩ and NΩE, under the conduct of his able pen, may be taught to ſpeak the ſame language, yet the addition of a final K ſeems to determine the word to a different meaning; and inſtead of conveying the name of a Deity, or a Patriarch, points out a title or office belonging to the city where the medal was ſtruck.

THIS objection may be thought of more conſequence than a diſquiſition concerning the form of the ark, as repreſented on the medal, whether it be intended to repreſent a ſquare or quinquelateral veſſel; whether it be open at top, or covered with a flat or angular roof. Mr. Bryant's repreſentation [z] undoubtedly differs from thoſe in the Muſeum Florentinum, the French king's cabinet, and the Numiſmata Pembrochiana, as appears by the annexed plate, wherein they are all faithfully repreſented from the original engravings; but he cannot be charged with any conſiderable deviation fom Falconeri's engraving, which probably was his archetype. The difference conſiſts chiefly in this, that the deſcending line, which is drawn in Mr. Bryant's plate from the back of the ark, and is loſt behind the ſecond figure, forms a larger angle with the ſide or end line of the ark, than it does in Falconeri's, and therefore conveys the idea of an angular roof; whereas that line in Falconeri approaches ſo near to a

[z] Fig. vii. compared with No. v. and vi.

perpen-

perpendicular, that it may ſeem to the eye rather as the end in perſpective of an open boat or veſſel, whoſe ſides are of equal height. It is evident, however, from Falconeri's deſcription of the coin, that the tranſverſe line, reſting on what he calls the *duo tigilli erecti*, was underſtood by him to repreſent a covering over the heads of the figures; and therefore it ſeems immaterial whether that roof was flat or angular: nor, indeed, can any ſatisfactory concluſion be drawn from the delineation of the ſpurious coin of Philip, nor even from the three different repreſentations of the genuine medallion of Severus, exhibited in this plate, which, in ſome inſtances, vary from each other. I would extend this obſervation even to the coin itſelf, whereon the accuracy or ſkill of a mint-maſter cannot much be depended on, according to whoſe ideas and miſerable perſpective, the ſame figure might repreſent an open or a covered building, a boat or an ark, a ſuggeſtum or a temple; eſpecially on the coins minted during the latter part of the empire, in the Aſiatic provinces.

NOR does it ſeem material to enquire into the ſize of the ark, or the number of perſons repreſented without or within it; for it was not the intention, much leſs was it within the capacity, of the mint-maſter to include ſuch a variety of facts or perſonages within the narrow compaſs of a ſingle reverſe. It was thought ſufficient, if he could mark the hiſtorical fact by one or two leading and well-known circumſtances; ſo that if the Noachic deluge had been the object of his work, he could not have deſcribed all the perſons contained in that veſſel: much leſs could he have found room for the variety of animals preſerved in it. The reſtoration of mankind, whether by Noah's or Decucalion's flood, was juſtly depicted in the perſons of a male and female, whom hiſtory has pointed out as the parents of the poſtdiluvian world. They are repreſented in one

one part of the reverſe in an ark floating on the waters, in another part as juſt landed from it, with uplifted hands, in thankfulneſs to the Deity for their preſervation. The repetition of the figures, far from being an objection to either of thoſe hiſtories, ſeems rather to give an additional illuſtration to the coin, and to aſcertain the fact, by exhibiting the two perſons in different ſituations. This liberty is ſometimes taken in hiſtorical paintings, and the ſame figure appears in various parts of the picture.

BUT whether the ſacred or profane hiſtory of the deluge was the object of this reverſe, the word inſcribed on the ark will be of very little uſe in explaining the figures. For, according to Vaillant, the word NEΩK muſt be ſubſtituted inſtead of NΩE. The Abbé Barthelemy thinks that authority is wanting for both, and that neither of the words can be fairly traced on any of the genuine medals with this reverſe; ſo that, NΩE appearing only on the ſpurious medaillon of Philip, it will be to no purpoſe to contend for it, either as the name of the Patriarch, or, according to Mr. Barrington [*a*], as the dual of the pronoun ΕΓΩ, put into the mouths of Deucalion and Pyrrha, to expreſs their ſituation, and alluding to that paſſage in Ovid's Metam. lib. i.

" *Nos duo* turba ſumus."

For it is apprehended that this pronoun is *always* ſpelt with an I, and therefore, until ſome authority can be produced, either from MSS or printed books, of its being written with an E, neither the ſpelling, nor the meaning here given, can be juſtified from the Greek language.

IT is alſo well known to all thoſe who are converſant with medals, that they hardly ever ſpeak a language like this. The office of the mint-maſters was of a public and ſerious nature.

[*a*] See the preceding Diſſertation, p. 315, & ſeqq.

They

They were employed in repreſenting the ceremonies of religion, and the events of hiſtory, in the plaineſt and moſt intelligible manner, for the public information; and, though they might be tolerable mythologiſts, yet they could have nothing to do with poetry. It may be juſt matter of doubt, whether the name or writings of Ovid were known to the Apameans, ſituated at 506 miles diſtance from Tomis, the place of that poet's reſidence. It may be thought ſtill leſs probable, that they ſhould be ſo familiariſed to his works as to allude to them on ſo remarkable an event by the application of a ſingle pronoun, which did not convey ſo much information as might be learned from the number and attitude of the figures themſelves: but this, being only matter of opinion, muſt be referred to the judgement of the reader.

BUT is there no other event to which theſe medals might refer? were there no religious or hiſtorical facts relative to Apamea, the circumſtances of which may not have been tranſmitted to poſterity, though they were well known at that time to the Apameans? Is any thing more frequent on the medals of the Aſiatic cities than the repreſentation of their local deities, temples, images, altars, and ceremonies of worſhip? Why may not the building repreſent a temple dedicated to ſome marine or river deities, ſituated, as the coin here repreſents it, at the confluence of, or upon the Apamean rivers, with the images of thoſe deities in the temple? and may not the figures ſtanding near the temple repreſent Worſhipers, Prieſts, Editui or Νεωκοροι, eſpecially as one of them is veiled like a Prieſt, and their right-hands are lifted up in the poſture of adoration or thankſgiving? May not this have been a celebrated temple, for which games were inſtituted in the ceremonial of their worſhip, under the preſidency of an Αγωνοθεσια; and to which, on ſuch a ſuppoſition,

the title of Νεωκορων might be applicable. But, as nothing can be produced from hiſtory, from the ſtate of theſe medals, or from their legends, to determine preciſely the fact to which they allude, there is ſtill ample room left for further conjecture; the principal object of this paper having been to ſhew the different ſtate of the medals under conſideration, to diſtinguiſh the ſpurious from the genuine coins, and rather to ſhew what conſequences cannot be drawn, than to eſtabliſh any certain ones, on ſo difficult a ſubject. But whatever theſe may be, it ſeems neceſſary that they ſhould be deduced from the figures and legend on the Contour only, which are allowed by the beſt medaliſts to be genuine.

XXIII. *Re-*



Ex Museo Gul. Hunter, M.D. *Ex Musæo Christ. Regis*

XXIII. *Remarks upon Mr.* Bryant's *Vindication of the* Apamean *Medal. By the Abbé* Barthelemy *and Mr.* Charles Combe, *F. R. and A. S.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, Jan. 23, 1777.

MR. BRYANT, in his vindication of the Apamean Medal [*a*], ſeems not to be ſenſible of any other objection to his hypotheſis than that taken notice of by the anonymous author there alluded to; though this writer appears ſo little acquainted either with medals or Greek (for if we retain his reading, OY. B. APXI. becomes inexplicable), that he ſcarcely

[*a*] Page 6, line 21.

ſeemed worthy of the notice of a gentleman ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed for his learning and abilities. But thoſe who are more converſant with this branch of ſcience entertained doubts of the authenticity of the letters N.Ω.E. and even of the medal itſelf, nor were the letters N.H.T.Ω.N. on the medal of Severus, free from the ſame ſuſpicions. The two medals we have of Philip in England are certainly falſe. That quoted by Falconieri had already been declared falſe by Gori [*b*], who, out of tenderneſs to the character of Falconieri, ſuppoſed it to have been changed; but, in order to obtain every information the nature of the enquiry would allow, I requeſted our worthy member Dr. Hunter, who had a correſpondence with the learned abbé Barthelemy, keeper of the King of France's cabinet of coins, where the medal of Severus, quoted by Falconieri, is preſerved, to tranſmit to him the following note.

"THE coins of Apamea in Phrygia having lately been the ſubject of much converſation among the literati in England, I take the liberty to trouble you for your opinion in regard to the genuineneſs of the medal of Severus mentioned by Vaillant in the King's cabinet with the following legend. ΕΟΙ. ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ. ΑΡΤΕΜΑ. Γ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. ΝΕΩ. Type, the ſtory of Deucalion and Pyrrha. Falconieri, who has publiſhed the ſame medal, reads it ΕΠΙ. ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ. ΑΡΤΕ. ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ. Whether either, or which, of the two is the true reading, I muſt beg you to determine. I ſhall likewiſe be much obliged to you for any information relative to the coin of Philip ſenior, with a ſimilar type, mentioned by Falconieri and Vaillant,

[*b*] Sed quod nunc prae manibus habemus, proculdubio ex alio genuino antiquo typo expreſſus ac conflatus eſt; quare ſuſpicandi anſa praebetur pro genuino, quod vidit Octavius Falconerius, hoc ipſum a ſagaci aliquo homine inter videndum poſtmodum ſubſtitutum eſſe. Muſ. Flor. vol. vi. p. 149.

though

though I have but little doubt in my own mind. Gori, you know, has aſſerted that in the Florentine cabinet to be falſe, and there are two in London which were ſuppoſed to be true, but are certainly not ſo. A little pamphlet of Mr. Bryant, which I have the honour to ſend you, has given riſe to this enquiry. In it you will ſee his idea of ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. Mr. Pellerin, in his Recueil des Medailles, &c. plate xliii. fig. 17, has publiſhed one of Apamea, in bronze [*c*], inſcribed ΑΠΑΜΕ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝ. ΑΡΤΕΜ. but has taken no notice of it in his letter-preſs. In Dr. Hunter's collection there is another [*d*] of the ſame metal, ſize, and type, with only ΑΠΑΜΕΩ. ΑΡΤΕ, without any other word. Theſe two coins, with ſome others already publiſhed, may tend to explain the medal of Severus, if you ſhould think it genuine; but if not, I ſhould eſteem your opinion of the word ΑΡΤΕΜ. a particular favour."

To theſe queries the ingenious Abbé, not leſs reſpectable for his politeneſs and affability, than his great learning and abilities, ſent the following anſwer:

"THE medallion of Apamea repreſenting on one ſide the head of Severus, and on the other the ſtory of Deucalion and Pyrrha, is in the King's cabinet. It is the ſame that Vaillant has publiſhed, of which Seguin ſent the drawing to Falconieri, and is well preſerved. The inſcription round the head is ΑΥΤ. Κ. Λ. ΣΕΠΤ. ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟϹ ΠΕΡΤΙ: on the reverſe ΕΠΙ ΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥ ΑΡΤΕΜΑΓ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ.

"I do not know why ſome have pretended to read upon the ark or cheſt theſe five letters ΝΗΤΩΝ. There is nothing to be ſeen but the letter N followed by two or three others, of which there remain only the ſlighteſt traces, or, to ſpeak more accu-

[*c*] See the plate prefixed to theſe obſervations, No. 2.
[*d*] Ibid. No. 1.

rately, there is nothing but the contour of the ſecond letter to be diſtinguiſhed, which, according to different lights, appears ſometimes an Ω, ſometimes an E.

" VAILLANT, and many other Antiquaries, have never entertained the leaſt doubt about the genuineneſs of this medal; and indeed the workmanſhip, the form of the letters, and the weight, ſeem to take away all ſuſpicions.

" THERE is another preſerved at Rome in the Vatican, which formerly belonged to Cardinal Albani. It is engraved in abbé Venuti's work on the medals of this Cardinal. While I was at Rome, I compared this ſuite with the engravings and the abbé's explanations; but as I was *at that time* perſuaded, that, upon theſe medallions of Apamea we ſhould always read NEΩ or NΣΩK, I did not examine the letters repreſented on the ark with ſufficient attention, and I ſee, by my notes, that I attended only to the legend in the contour. It is the ſame as that in the King's cabinet, except that in the word APTEMAΓ. the A is ſeparated from the Γ by a point. This, I think, abbé Venuti has remarked. In the engravings we ſee two letters NΩ, followed by ſome points. The abbé is inclined to think that NEΩK was formed from NΩE.

I HAVE already obſerved, that at firſt I ſuppoſed the ſame alteration: but I dare not inſiſt upon ſuch a conjecture. Apamea is not dignified with the Neocorate on any of its medals, at leaſt I know none that give it this title. By what chance then came it to be only expreſſed upon thoſe which repreſent the ſtory of Deucalion and Pyrrha?

IN 1762, Father Khell publiſhed at Vienna ſome works of father Froelich, under this title, " Erafmi Froelich de familia Vaballathi " numis illuſtrata. Accedunt ejuſdem adpendiculae duae ad nu- " miſmata antiqua a Cl. Vaillantio olim edita." In the ſecond of theſe

theſe ſupplements, p. 95. he has deſcribed a medallion with the type which makes the object of our preſent enuuiry. On one ſide, the head of Macrinus, AYT. K. M. OΠEΛ. CEOY. MAKPEINOC. CEBA; on the reverſe the ſame type as upon the medal of Severus; in the exergue AΠAMEΩN and no name of a magiſtrate; upon the face of the ark NΩ. Father Froelich pretends that theſe two letters are clearly expreſſed upon the medal, and although he is perſuaded that the ark contains Noah and his wife, known to the Greeks under the name of Deucalion and Pyrrha, yet he does not venture to aſſert that we ought to read NΩE, NΩH, NΩA, or even NΩN, the termination of the word ΠEPΓAMHNΩN, of which the firſt letters in the contour of the medal are totally obliterated. This conjecture ſuppoſes that the reverſe of the medal had a legend, and father Froelich imagines that there remain ſome traces of it: it is not, however, eaſy to judge of the authenticity of this medal.

THE medallion of Philip with the ſame type is preſerved in the King's cabinet. It is perfectly like that which Falconieri has engraved, but the two or three letters on the ark are entirely defaced. I have never been ſatisfied with this medal. The firſt glance of it is very unfavourable, and our ſuſpicions increaſe in proportion as we examine it with more attention. Falconieri, p. 251. has cited three medals of Apamea with the head of Philip: one in the cabinet of the Grand Duke, with the name of NΩE clearly expreſſed; but this coin is falſe according to Gori, who, to ſave the credit of Falconieri, ſuppoſes that a falſe medal has been ſubſtituted for a true one. The ſecond medal cited by Falconieri belonged to Cardinal Ottoboni; in this, only the letter N was to be ſeen. The third was the property of Cardinal Chigi, the letters entirely defaced. So they are on that belonging to the King: if they are ſo upon your coins,

coins, the ſame letters preciſely are found deſtroyed or tobled upon the ſix medals of Philip, whilſt the legend in the contour is upon all well preſerved, or at leaſt very legible. The ſame ſingularity is found in the two medals of Severus, and in that of Macrinus. I know very well that theſe letters being on a part in relief have been more expoſed to friction than the others; but it is nevertheleſs extraordinary, that they ſhould not be preſerved entire on any one of nine medals.

ON conſidering all theſe monuments, it appears to me probable that the word in queſtion began with NΩ, and that perhaps it contained only theſe two letters. What they mean, or whether they have been added *by the tool of a falſifier*, I dont't know; and it is but one of the innumerable particulars relating to medals, on which I muſt acknowledge my ignorance. This, however, I will venture to affirm that nothing at preſent appears to authoriſe us to read NΩE, NEΩ, or NEΩK.

IF the medallions of Philip in Italy are not more authentic than thoſe in the King's, or Dr. Hunter's cabinet, we may eaſily trace the progreſs of the falſifier. He had copied the reverſe of the medal of Severus, and took the legend ΕΠ. Μ. ΑΥΡ. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ. Β. ΑΡΧΙ. ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ from another medal of Philip, ſtruck in the ſame city, upon which we find nearly the ſame inſcription.

The termination NHTΩN, which ſome have thought they diſcovered on the medal of Severus, has miſled Mr. Bryant, and before him Falconieri, Buonnarotti, and ſome other antiquaries; who joining the letters NHTΩN with the laſt letters of the legend, have formed the word ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ. But the word ΑΡΤΕΜ, or ΑΡΤΕΜΑ, is certainly the abbreviation of the name of a magiſtrate, for the following reaſons: 1ſt, it was not the cuſtom to expreſs upon a medal the quality of a magiſtrate

magiſtrate without mentioning his name; which muſt be the caſe if we allow the application of Mr. Bryant: 2dly, on a medal in ſmall braſs, deſcribed by Vaillant, and preſerved in the King's cabinet, having on one ſide the head of Caracalla oppoſite to that of Plautilla, and on the reverſe an eagle, in the contour ЕІІІ. АРТЕМА. Г. АПАМЕІС. КОІNОN. ФРУГІΩN. the point between the ſecond A and the Г is very viſible; it ſeparates alſo theſe two letters on the medallion of Severus, in the Vatican: 3dly, on a medal of the ſame prince, ſtruck at Gordiana in Galatia, and deſcribed by Vaillant, we read ЕІІІ. АУР. ІОУЛІАNОУ. ТОУ. АРТЕМА. АРХ. А, &c. this Aurelius Julianus was then the ſon of an Artemagoras; from which it follows, that АРТЕМА muſt be the name of a magiſtrate. Mr. Pellerin calls him Artemagoras, and I think he is right.

THE medal you cite after Mr. Pellerin, tom. ii. des Villes, pl. xliii. is very accurately repreſented АПАМЕ. ΑΛΕΞΑN. АРТЕМ. that is to ſay, АПАМЕΩN. ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔРОУ. АРТЕМАГОРОУ. I put theſe two names in the genitive caſe, becauſe ſuch appears to me to have been the uſage obſerved on the medals of Apamea. By the medals of Severus and Philip we ſee that Artemagoras filled one of the principal dignities under the firſt of theſe princes; and Alexander under the ſecond. It is natural to conclude, that Alexander on Mr. Pellerin's medal was ſon of an Artemagoras; very probably of that Artemagoras mentioned on Dr. Hunter's medal; for you know that among the Greeks, the eldeſt of the grandſons took the name of the grandfather; and thus two names were perpetuated alternately, during many generations, in the ſame family.

LASTLY, I think, we ſhould not ſuſpect the medal of Severus ſolely on account of the ſingularity of the type, nor, on the

other hand, ſhould we lay too much ſtreſs on it. The Greeks long before this medal was ſtruck were acquainted with Deucalion's deluge; and particular circumſtances may have engaged the inhabitants of Apamea to revive the memory of it on their medals.

FATHER Froelich, in explaining the medallion of Macrinus, endeavours to form ſome conjectures about theſe circumſtances. He ſays, page 97, "Arbitror itaque Auguſtum et Auguſtam "extra arcam, velut novum Noë, ſeu Deucalionem et Pyrrham "effictos, quo ſymbolo eos velut conſervatores humani generis "aut reparatores, graecula adſentatione, honorarent Apameni." But, if we chuſe to indulge ſuch conjectures as theſe, we ſhall find more probable ones to explain the medal of Severus.

SEVERUS, knowing the name of Antoninus to be in great eſteem among the Romans, cauſed his ſon Caracalla to aſſume it, in order to render himſelf more agreeable to the people; and about the time that theſe medals were ſtruck, he married Caracalla to Plautilla; he likewiſe ſet out on a progreſs to regulate the affairs of the Eaſt; and preparations were made for celebrating the Secular Games. All theſe circumſtances were undoubtedly ſufficient to warm the imagination of the Greeks. Severus and his ſon were, in their eyes, the precious remains of a family who had been the happineſs of the empire, and whom the Gods had preſerved to perpetuate this happineſs. You perceive, Sir, with what facility we may extend all theſe ideas; but you likewiſe perceive how little ſtreſs I lay on them. I am not ſo eager to penetrate the ſecrets of the Apameans, as I am to ſhew my readineſs to anſwer the queſtions contained in your letter. I am not able to give you greater eclairciſſements on this ſubject, as I love rather to doubt than decide."

THUS

THUS far the learned Abbé, who has been ſo very full on this ſubject, that it ſeems needleſs to enlarge upon it. The letters NΩE, which for years have miſled ingenious antiquaries, muſt now be given up; indeed, in all probability, no letters were originally on the ark; but ſome perſon, ſtruck with the ſingularity of the type, thought fit to encreaſe the aſtoniſhment in others, by faintly adding with a tool the letter N, and an imperfect letter or two following: and as no authority now remains for reading NHTΩN, the new ſet of beings called *Arti-magnetes* will of courſe vaniſh. But if Mr. Bryant, or any other gentleman, who think a different inference ſhould be drawn from that which ſeems to ſtrike the learned Abbé, they certainly have a right to their opinion; the authenticity of the medal of Severus, and the true reading, are now eſtabliſhed for them; and *valeant quantum valere poſſunt.*

XXIV. *Account of Coins, &c. found in digging up the Foundations of ſome old Houſes near the Church of* St. Mary Hill, London, 1774. *By the Rev. Dr.* Griffith, *Rector of that Church.*

Read at the SOCIETY of ANTIQUARIES, March 6, 1776.

To EDWARD KING, Esq.

DEAR SIR,

I HERE ſend you, according to your deſire, a particular account of the coins found in my pariſh, of which I before ſhewed you ſome ſpecimens. If, on looking over this account, you ſhall think it worth the notice of the reſpectable Society of Antiquaries, you are extremely welcome to lay it before them.

I am, Sir,

Your faithful, humble ſervant,

St. Mary Hill,
Feb. 27, 1776.

GUYON GRIFFITH.

ON the 24th of June 1774, a number of labourers were employed in preparing a foundation for a large ſugar warehouſe, intended to be built upon the ſcite of ſeveral old houſes that had been pulled down for that purpoſe, near St. Mary Hill church, on the eaſt ſide of Love Lane.

WHEN

THE *larger* of the two earthen veſſels, having been broken into ſeveral pieces, was not preſerved with any care. It was of a blueiſh-coloured earth, of a cloſe texture, about a quarter of an inch thick, and was judged to contain near two quarts; its ſhape was like that of an urn.

THE *ſmaller* veſſel, which remains entire, is of a browniſh earth, inclining to red, of a ſtony, granulated texture, about an eighth of an inch thick, and bears evident marks of having been uſed for the melting of metal; but is of a different ſhape from our modern crucibles, as will appear from the encloſed ſketch of it, *fig.* iii. It contains four ounces and a half troy meaſure, is three inches and a quarter long, two inches and a quarter high, and two inches and an eighth wide at its greateſt breadth, for it gradually contracts itſelf into a lip at one end.

IN regard to the coins themſelves, it is not eaſy to judge how many there were at firſt, nor what number of them was preſerved; but thus much may be depended upon: that between three and four hundred of them having been carefully examined, they were found to conſiſt entirely of the pennies of Edward the Confeſſor, Harold II. and William the Conqueror. And it is remarkable, that in an earthen veſſel, containing above 200 pennies, found in June 1739, at Dyns Marſh in Lydd between Dengeneſs and Lydd, on the land late Payne's, now Samuel Jeak's, eſq. of Rye, by a carpenter putting down a fence poſt, they likewiſe appeared, on examination, to belong to one or other of the ſame three monarchs. In both inſtances, there were many exact halves and quarters, intermixed with the whole pennies.

AMONG the pennies of Edward (which proved conſiderably above half of the number examined) were many fine ſpecimens of ſix known types, correſponding to N° 1. 8. and 17. of *Edward*, in tab. vi. and N° 25. 35. and 42. in tab. vii. of Hickes's Theſaurus.

As

As the *ſovereign* penny (or **whole length** figure ſeated in ſtate) was a type peculiar to the Confeſſor, till Henry III. in 1257, made it in the pattern for his gold penny, it was thought worth while, in examining thoſe pieces of Edward, to note down their different moneyers and towns, of which the former amounted to 27, the latter to 16: and it may not be amiſs to ſubjoin a liſt of them, eſpecially as I apprehend, that out of theſe 16 towns, only four of them with this type have been publiſhed.

BESIDES the ſix known types above mentioned, there were two others of this king, which were unknown before. See the plate.

THE *one* has a profile head on its obverſe, and on its reverſe four martlets; which reverſe, till this piece was diſcovered, was always ſuppoſed to have been appropriated to the Confeſſor's *ſovereign* penny.

THE *other* has the ſame reverſe as N° 17, referred to above; but differs from it very materially in the obverſe; having the profile head turned to the right, and without either arm or hand to ſupport the ſceptre; beſides ſome other diſtinguiſhing circumſtances. It is obſervable, that this piece was along with thoſe which I mentioned above as having been recovered from the rubbiſh on the lay-ſtall.

AMONG the pennies of Harold II. were 31 different moneyers, and 22 towns; and many very fair ſpecimens of the only known type of this king, viz. on the obverſe, a profile head, generally with a ſceptre, but ſometimes without it; and for a reverſe, the word PAX.

How this ſingular word came to be placed on the reverſe of this king, as alſo on that of Edward the Confeſſor, William I. and Henry I. and of no other, may be matter of curious ſpeculation to the hiſtorical Antiquary.

THE opinion of Sir Andrew Fountaine in Hickes's Theſaurus [a], and of Mr. Walker in Camden's Britannia [b], who

[a] See Explanation of N° 1—7. Tab. viii. p. 18.
[b] See Explanation of N° 11 and 37. Tab. vii. Saxon Coins.

concur in attributing to the ſon of Canute, the pennies of Harold with *Pax* on the reverſe, is now generally deemed erroneous [*c*]. And I cannot help obſerving, how ſtrong a preſumptive evidence here ariſes for aſſigning all thoſe pennies to that Harold who ſucceeded the Confeſſor, and was followed by William; with the coins of which two kings only they were intermixed, in great numbers, both in this hoard at *St. Mary Hill*, and in that at *Dyns Marſh* above-mentioned.

THE pennies of William the Conqueror, that were gained on this occaſion, though much fewer than thoſe of Edward, yet will probably be thought by the curious not leſs intereſting; ſince, in the firſt place, they afford ſeveral fine ſpecimens of four known types [*d*], but more particularly of that with the *canopy*; of which rare type [*e*], the pieces that have been ſaved out of this hoard alone, preſent us with no leſs than ſixteen different moneyers, and nine towns; which I ſhall hereafter enumerate.

I MUST further obſerve concerning theſe pieces, that among them there is *one*, which exhibits, both on the obverſe and reverſe, a very different type from what is ſeen on any other known *canopy*. See the plate.

THE ſingularity of this coin conſiſts in its having, on the *obverſe*, the head and canopy ſurrounded with an inner circle that ſeparates the head from the ſhoulders, a pellet on each ſide of the face, and the canopy ſupported, not by a couple of ſmall ſimilar pillars, but by two ſceptres, the right pointed with three pearls, the left with a croſs paté; and on the *reverſe* (like that of the double-ſceptered Conqueror) a carbuncle [*f*] alternately fleury and

[*c*] The ſame error is obſervable in the engraved plates of the earl of Pembroke's collection, in regard to the arrangement of the coins of the two Harolds. See part IV. tab. iii.

[*d*] See N° 1, 2. 5, and 7. in Plate i. publiſhed by the Society of Antiquaries.

[*e*] See Snelling's view of the ſilver coin, page 4; and N° 6, in his firſt plate.

[*f*] See explanation of the reverſe in N° 5. and N° 1. in Plate i. by the Society of Antiquaries.

promettè,

prometté, pierced in the center, inſtead of the maſcle pointed with treble knots, in the center an annulet, which appears on the reverſe of every other known *canopy*.

WHEN I mentioned above, that the ſovereign-type of Edward, the pennies in general of Harold, and the canopy-type of William furniſhed, reſpectively, a liſt of 27, 31, and 16 moneyers, it would naturally be ſuppoſed, that the number of moneyers was but ſmall, when compared with the number of pieces of each ſort. Yet the fact happens to be far otherwiſe; for, putting out of the queſtion one piece, on which the name of the moneyer is not ſufficiently legible, though I am ſatisfied from ſome circumſtances that this alſo was ſtruck by a different moneyer from the reſt; I ſay, putting this piece out of the queſtion, the number of moneyers is exactly equal to that of the ſeveral pieces, nor is there, among thoſe of the ſame type, one duplicate moneyer.

WHETHER or no the five other types of Edward afforded the ſame variety of moneyers as his ſovereign-type did, I cannot pretend to ſay, ſince that circumſtance did not happen to be attended to, in looking them over. But as to the three other types of William, they were found, on examination, exactly to correſpond in this particular with his canopy-type; nor did any two of them with the ſame type bear the name of the ſame mint-maſter.

FROM this remarkable circumſtance relative to the coins themſelves, added to the diſcovery of a melting pot among them, it ſeems probable, that they belonged to ſome moneyer, or other curious perſon connected with the mintage, who, with a particular view, had collected from different mints ſo great a number of ſingle ſpecimens.

I HAVE only to add further, that the new types deſcribed above, together with near 50 pieces more (conſiſting chiefly of the faireſt and moſt curious ſpecimens of this hoard), are in the valuable collection of Mr. John White of Newgate Street, to whoſe very obliging communications I am indebted for ſeveral particulars of this account, and alſo for a drawing of the three types, which, as far as I can learn, are all uniques.

P. S. ON digging deeper in ſome parts of the ſame ground, ſome fragments of Roman bricks, and a few pieces of the middle braſs of Domitian, were thrown up. The bones alſo of ſeveral children, and of five or ſix full-grown perſons, were diſcovered. But as there were no circumſtances of curioſity attending any of theſe particulars, it is ſufficient juſt to mention the bare fact.

A LIST

A LIST of MONEYERS and TOWNS

On the *Sovereign* Type of Edward the Confeſſor.	On the Pennies of Harold II.	On the *Canopy* Type of William the Conqueror.
Alfworld on Wilt	Alfwold on Wiltu	Agelwi on Oxene
Arufi . . . . . Lei	Aelfwine on Oxenca	Aegelric on Lund
Aegelric on Her	Brand on Wali	Aelffig on Lund
Blacere on Theot	Colſpegen on Aeſtr	Brunwine on Stan
Brind on Heſtein	Edric on Lincol	Godric on Theot
Brintric on Coln	Edwine on Lund	Godwine on Lund
Deorman on Lund	Elfwine on Thetfo	Leofric on Lund
Dudinc on Mornidune	Forna on Snotin	Lufwine on Eoſe
Elfrinc on Dearby	Geofric on Lunden	Mann on Canwai
Edwin on Lunde	Godric on Theot	Olbearn on Theot
Foll on Sudri	Godric on Lund	Sideman on Warrn
Godric on Searum	Godwine on Cice	Spottinc on Exc
Godric on Wilt	Godwine on Humid	Wiltune on Canwa
Godwine on Stam	Leofric on Can	Winerac on Leweis
Godwine on Lunde	Leofric on Stanf	Winted on Lund
Godwine on Oxon	Leofric on Wince	Wulfwine on Canwa
Herrep on Wiltun	Leofti on Lunden	
Jocetel on Eofe	Lifinc on Execes	
Mann on Canwai	Outhbearn on Eof	
Mann on Linco	Spratelinge on *	
Sideman on Wiltun	Stric on Hereſo	
Thorcil on Linco	Stetman on Ma	
Thurcil on Wiltu	Swaine on Hampt	
Ulfketel on Eofr	Theofwold on Win	
Wulfred on Lund	Thurgod on Theotf	
Wulfwine on Lund	Thurcil on Wiarwi	
Wulfgar on Lund	Ulfcetel on Eofe	
	Ulfkan on Nor	
	Wulfwi on Colneeſt	
	Wulfwine on Eadel	
	Wulfwine on Lund	
27	31	16

* This ſtands for the whole Exergue, and gives no Room for the Name of the Town.

XXV. *Obſervations on Ancient Caſtles.*

By Edward King, *Eſq.*

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, March 21, 28, and April 18, 1776.

To the Rev. Doctor Milles, Dean of Exeter,
Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries.

John Street, March 9, 1776.

SIR,

PERMIT me, through your hands, to lay before the Society over which you ſo worthily preſide, the encloſed papers, relating to a ſubject not foreign to their enquiries. I am ſenſible indeed there needs ſome apology for the many imperfections and errors that may be found therein; but, as I am perſuaded they will meet with the greateſt degree of candor, I venture without any further heſitation to introduce this little eſſay, under your ſanction, to the conſideration of thoſe, who I truſt will both rectify the errors, and add many more curious obſervations to theſe imperfect hints.

I am, Sir,
With great reſpect,
Your moſt obedient, humble ſervant,
EDWARD KING.

OB-

OBSERVATIONS ON ANTIENT CASTLES.

AS an acquaintance with ancient manners and cuſtoms is eſſentially neceſſary in order to our well underſtanding the Hiſtory of paſt ages, ſo thoſe Antiquities which tend to illuſtrate and explain the arts, uſages, and modes of living, of our forefathers, both in war and in peace, become daily more intereſting objects of our enquiries.

THE lapſe of time unavoidably obliterates the remembrance of theſe things. And, unleſs we have recourſe to a careful and exact ſurvey and conſideration of ſuch kinds of Antiquities, our ideas are apt to be contracted by the conſtant contemplation of the manners of the age in which we ourſelves live; and we are apt to conſider *them* as the ſtandard whereby to judge of, and to explain, the hiſtory of paſt times; than which there cannot be a more deluſive error; nor indeed is there any more effectual method to prevent our underſtanding the truth of things, or to hinder our forming a right judgement of the characters of men, or of the times.

As ſuch antiquities, therefore, deſerve our moſt careful inſpection, it may, I apprehend, be a ſubject not unworthy our attention, to examine, amongſt the reſt, with ſome degree of accuracy, the Monuments of Ancient Fortification ſtill extant in this country. And they the rather deſerve conſideration, becauſe many of them have for ſome years been ſo totally neglected, and ſo wantonly mutilated, that they are haſtening to utter ruin and oblivion; and there are likely to be very ſoon but few traces of them left: and thoſe which have reſiſted the common decays of time, have yet undergone ſuch great alterations, in order to adapt them to uſes very different from the purpoſes for which they were originally conſtructed, that they have almoſt entirely loſt the very appearance of their ancient form;

form; and thoſe parts of their ſtructure which were the moſt curious, and worth notice, are entirely defaced.

VESTIGIA ſufficient, however, do ſtill remain, and may with care be traced out amidſt theſe venerable ruins, to enable us, on comparing them one with another, to inveſtigate the original plan and deſign of theſe curious ſtrong-holds. And an attentive examination of their ſtructure will help us to form clear ideas of ſome of the moſt important parts of hiſtory; and will alſo make us underſtand more fully the gradual progreſs of arts.

MR. Groſe's moſt uſeful work has preſerved very good repreſentations of the preſent *external* appearance of many of theſe remains; and, in the preface to that performance, a very uſeful account is given of the general plan of the *outworks* of many great caſtles: but as it was not neceſſary to his undertaking, to enter into a minute deſcription of the peculiar mode of fortification obſerved in the ſtructure of the towers themſelves, and of the keeps of theſe caſtles; and poſſibly the ſeveral curious and minute particulars, which are neceſſary to be obſerved in order to explain that matter, did not fall under his immediate obſervation; we have not, either from him, or indeed from any other perſon, as yet, any exact account of that very ſingular part of ancient Architecture.

I SHALL therefore, in order if poſſible to ſupply that defect, in ſome ſmall degree, venture to lay before the Society ſuch obſervations as I have been able to make, on ſurveying, with a good deal of care and exactneſs, ſome of the principal ancient fortreſſes in this kingdom.

IT is not the view of any one of them ſingly, that will enable a perſon fully to comprehend the cautions and ſkill made uſe of, and the ingenious contrivances, both for ſtrength and defence, and for annoying the beſieged, and for the ſecure uſe and uſe of thoſe who were to defend the works. Their various circum-

cumſtances can only be inveſtigated by a compariſon of ſeveral caſtles one with another; and by obſerving in what reſpects one general plan and deſign was carried on in all, though with ſome variety of execution. And it is even neceſſary to examine the ſame building repeatedly, after having ſurveyed ſeveral others, in order to be aſſured that the concluſions concerning any one of them are right.

BUT although this method was proper to be adopted in the beginning of the enquiry concerning their ſtructure and uſe, perhaps the beſt means of explaining the concluſions that have been drawn, and of rendering the whole intelligible to others, may be to give a deſcription, completely and fully, of one of the moſt perfect edifices of this ſort.

I SHALL ſelect therefore, for that purpoſe, the work of a moſt celebrated ancient architect, the caſtle of *Rocheſter*, which was in great part re-edified, if not originally built, by the famous biſhop Gundulph, about the year 1088; and certainly owed a great part of its plan to his deſigns; and is one of the fineſt remains of antiquity in this country. It is true, part of it is ſaid to have been beaten down in king John's time; but the uniformity of the whole ſhews that it was moſt certainly repaired in a manner ſimilar to that of the original conſtruction; and, therefore, that the injury was not ſuch as ſhould prevent our ſelecting it on this occaſion, before all others.

THIS caſtle ſtands on the banks of the river Medway, being built near the brow of a conſiderable hill; and its principal tower, which is nearly ſquare (being about 75 feet by 72), is ſo ſituated, as to command both the river and the whole adjacent country: and it was fortified with ſtrong out-works, and deep ditches; and had a conſiderable area around it, incloſed for the uſe of the garriſon. Of theſe out-works, however, I ſhall enter into

into no particular deſcription, becauſe their general nature has been well explained by Mr. Groſe; and the peculiar ſubject of this paper is meant to be confined more particularly to the ſtructure and contrivance of the tower itſelf.

AND here the circumſtances moſt manifeſtly endeavoured to be provided for, by the architect, were,

1ſt, THE ſecurity of the entrance; and the rendering it both difficult to an enemy, and yet ſo magnificent, as to be ſuitable to the dignity of the perſon who was to have his reſidence, as commander in chief, in the apartments of this building.

2dly, THE protection of the whole garriſon, in caſe of a cloſe ſiege, and after the out-works ſhould be taken; and the conſtructing the building in ſuch a manner, that they might not be annoyed by the weapons of the enemy, nor be ſubject to have their apartments ſet on fire; and, at the ſame time, the deviſing a means to enable them, with ſafety to their own perſons, to annoy the beſiegers.

3dly, THE contriving to miſlead and deceive the beſiegers, and to draw their attacks upon ſuch parts of the building as were in reality the ſtrongeſt, and leaſt liable to be injured by them.

4thly, THE ſecurity of the ſtores: and the ſecuring of the priſoners, in ſuch a manner as to need no very conſiderable guard.

5thly, THE eaſy conveyance of the great engines of war, ſuch as baliſtae, catapultae, warwolfs, and other offenſive weapons, into the various apartments, and up to the top of the tower.

6thly, THE means of giving a quick alarm to all the garriſon, without any confuſion, or ſuffering the enemy to be apprized of it.

7thly,

7thly, THE ſupplying the garriſon with water.

8thly, THE conveying away the ſmoak from the apartments; and the forming of drains to carry off the filth.

AND laſtly, The providing an habitation for the commandant in chief, or lord of the caſtle, both ſtately and airy, and free from the annoyance of the enemy's inſtruments of war.

AND we ſhall find that all theſe ends were obtained by the moſt ingenious devices.

FOR, in the firſt place, as to the entrance, nothing can be conceived more completely adapted to anſwer the double purpoſe both of ſtate and ſecurity. It was not in this caſtle (nor indeed in any other antient caſtle that I have ever ſeen), in the lower ſtory, or upon the ground, or near it; but at a conſiderable height: and was by means of a grand ſtair-caſe, which went partly round two of the fronts of the caſtle, on the outſide, and terminated in a grand portal. But, before this portal could be entered, there was a draw-bridge to be paſſed; the pulling up of which cut off all communication whatever with the flight of ſteps. And there was alſo a ſtrong gate about the middle of the ſtair-caſe, between the foot of it and the draw-bridge.

NOR was this the only ſecurity; for even the grand portal, beyond the bridge, was not the entrance of this fortreſs itſelf; but merely the entrance of a ſmall adjoining tower: the whole of which latter might be demoliſhed, without any material injury to the body of the caſtle. Within this little tower was a ſort of veſtibule; and from thence was a ſecond entrance (the real entrance of the great tower itſelf), through a ſecond portal, placed in the thickneſs of the wall; which was [illegible] twelve feet thick. And this ſecond entrance [illegible] firſt portal, was defended by a portcullis, or herſe, falling in a ſtrong ſtone groove; and alſo by a ſtrong pair of gates. So that there were three ſtrong gates to be forced, and two portcullis to be

deſtroyed, before this entrance could be gained: and one pair of gates was to be broken down, and the draw-bridge, at a great height to be re-placed, before even the firſt portcullis could be approached.

How ſtrong the mode of fortifying by means of the portcullis was, before the invention of cannon, is ſo well known, that it is almoſt needleſs to deſcribe it: but as it will tend to explain ſome other parts of the building, I will juſt mention, that the herſe, or portcullis, was a ſtrong grating of timber, fenced with iron, made to ſlide up and down in a groove of ſolid ſtone work, within the arch of the portal, juſt as a ſaſh-window does in its frame; and that its bottom was furniſhed with ſharp iron ſpikes, deſigned both to ſtrike into the ground or floor, for the ſake of greater firmneſs and ſolidity, and alſo to deſtroy and break whatever ſhould be under it at the time of its being let fall. And its groove was always contrived ſo deep in the ſtone work, that it could not be injured, or removed, without pulling down the whole wall.

THE remains of the grooves of both the portculliſes, in both the portals above deſcribed, with the places for working them in the rooms above, may ſtill be plainly perceived; as alſo the remains and places of the hinges of the gates.

WE may alſo perceive that, for ſtate, there were in the thickneſs of the wall, at the ſecond entrance, two ſtone ſeats in large niches, for the wardours; or for thoſe who *by military tenure* kept caſtle guard.

AND on the mention of this tenure, I cannot but obſerve, that although the opinion of Lord Coke be not always proper to be relied upon, as an Antiquary; yet as a Lawyer, his is undoubtedly the beſt authority; and he mentions, with regard to the tenure by Caſtle Guard, or Ward, a curious circumſtance, which

which may tend much to illuſtrate what is here ſaid. He tells us [*a*], that the tenure was required to be *certain*, and that it was not ſufficient to be in *general words*, *to defend the Caſtle*; but that it was required to be, to defend a tower, *a door*, a bridge, a ſconce, or ſome other *certain part* of the caſtle. From whence we may conclude, that theſe ſeats I have been deſcribing, were originally annexed to the tenures of thoſe perſons, who were, by virtue thereof, to defend the great gates.

BESIDES this grand entrance, there was none other of any conſequence; and indeed there was no poſſibility of getting in or out of the caſtle otherwiſe than by it, except by a ſmall ſally-port; which was a narrow door-way, ſituated directly under the draw-bridge, and therefore in a place where any aſſailants might eaſily be annoyed, both from the top of the ſtone ſteps, and from the firſt portal; and, if there were any machicolations over that portal, (as I ſuſpect there were) by them alſo. And this little ſally-port was at ſuch an height from the ground, that it could not be approached, except by a ſcaling-ladder; having no ſtone, or fixed ſteps, to it.

AND leſt even this entrance, thus ſecured, ſhould be forced, proviſion was made, within the caſtle, that it ſhould give no eaſy admittance to the main body of the building: for, from hence, to the apartments on the floor above, in which was the grand entrance, there was no aſcent, except by *one* ſmall winding ſtair-caſe only; although, in the *next* it, there were no leſs than *three* convenient ſtair-caſes, leading to the upper apartments of the caſtle. And this *one* ſtair-caſe was ſo contrived, that a private centinel alone might eaſily defend the paſſage; and it was moreover well ſecured by ſtrong doors.

[*a*] *Co. Lit.* 85.

BUT all theſe particulars will be better underſtood, by a plan and elevation of this building.

FIG. I. and II. plate XXII. are plans of the tower: the firſt being deſigned to repreſent the floor, on which the grand entrance is, at the top of the flight of ſteps (a plan of the ſtair-caſe alſo being added on the outſide): and the ſecond being a plan of the floor above, on which were the ſtate apartments.

AND *Fig. III. repreſents* the elevation of this tower, on the N. E. ſide, with the little tower adjoining, in which is the veſtibule, and grand entrance.

IN Fig. I. (a b c), is the grand flight of ſteps, the bottom being at (a); and at (f), on the firſt landing, was a ſtrong arch over head, and a great maſſy gate. At (d) was the firſt grand portal, fortified both by a ſtrong gate, and a portcullis. And between (e) and (d) was the draw-bridge. At (e) was the veſtibule; and at (g) the ſecond grand portal, fortified alſo by another gate, and another portcullis; and at (h) are the great niches on both ſides, in the wall, with ſtone benches, for the wardours, or thoſe who kept caſtle-guard at the gate.

IN the plan of the grand floor, Fig. II. (i) is the place over the laſt portal, for working the herſe, or portcullis; and to this there was an approach from a gallery within the thickneſs of the wall, which I ſhall more particularly deſcribe hereafter; and (k) is the place, over the firſt portal, for working its port-cullis; and the approach to this place was from the former, and through the chamber over the veſtibule.

IN fig. III. (1 and 2) ſhew the remains of the grand ſtair-caſe; and (4) the grand portal, the bottom of which is even now above twenty feet from the ground, notwithſtanding the ſoil has been artificially raiſed by time. And (3) is the ſally-port, the bottom of which is even ſtill at the height of ſeven feet from the ground,

and

and was undoubtedly more in former times; and over the top of it muſt have been the draw-bridge. And here I cannot but juſt obſerve, that perhaps from this grand ſtair-caſe on the outſide of this building, we may form ſome idea of that of the caſtle of Antonia, at Jeruſalem; from whence St. Paul addreſſed the people, when he had been juſt reſcued from a tumult, by the commanding officer; and we may probably, thereby, be the better enabled to underſtand that piece of hiſtory. And I may add that Joſephus's account of that tower, which was ſquare, and at the corner of the area of the caſtle, next the temple, renders this concluſion not improbable.

BUT to proceed; at (l) in fig. I. is the preſent entrance, on the ground, which is moſt evidently nothing more than a modern breach in the wall, at a place where was formerly only a very ſmall loop-hole, like thoſe I ſhall preſently deſcribe. At (m) is the only ſtair-caſe that goes down to the ground-floor; and at (n) and (o) are the two other ſtair-caſes, which begin at this floor, where the grand entrance was, and from thence go up to the top of the caſtle.

IN the next place, the contrivances in the ſtructure of this tower, for the protection of the garriſon in caſe of a cloſe ſiege, and after the outworks ſhould be taken, were moſt remarkable; and the methods deviſed to ſecure them from being annoyed by the enemy's weapons, and yet to enable them, at the ſame time, to annoy the beſiegers, were moſt curious, and well deſerve our notice.

ON the ground floor, there were no windows at all; and even very few loop-holes, and thoſe exceedingly ſmall; being not much above ſix inches ſquare. On the north-eaſt ſide there were abſolutely none; and on the others only two at moſt, on any one ſide; and on one or two ſides only one. And their ſtructure and ſituation was ſuch, that no weapon ſhot in could poſſibly enter far

far enough, to fall into the apartments; nor could any fire-brand thrown in do miſchief, or reach further than the bottom of the arches through which theſe loop-holes were approached, from within the caſtle.

AND even in the ſtory over this, on the firſt floor, which are the grand portals, there were no windows within the tower itſelf, but only loop-holes.

As to the third ſtory, which contained the rooms of ſtate, although there were indeed, in theſe rooms, moſt magnificent windows, yet they were placed ſo high in the apartments, which were, on that very account, exceedingly lofty, and they were ſo contrived, that it was almoſt impoſſible for any weapon to be ſhot into the room, ſo as to do any hurt; for, if it went at all aſcending, it would ſtrike againſt a low arch, purpoſely contrived over every window, and could not enter the room at all; and if it was ſhot with ſuch force, and from ſuch a diſtance, as to enter the room nearly horizontally, it muſt then have force alſo to go quite acroſs the room, at a great diſtance over head, and moſt probably would lodge in the arches of the wall on the oppoſite ſide; and could hardly ever fall into the room by any means; and if it did ſo by great chance, it muſt be after having firſt ſtruck the oppoſite wall, and loſt all its force.

BUT, in order to underſtand this matter more fully, it is neceſſary to have recourſe to ſome drawings. Fig. IV. therefore, ſhews the front view of an arch on the ground-floor, in the thickneſs of the wall, and its correſpondent loop-hole, as ſeen within the caſtle. And fig. V. is a ſection of the ſame.

AND here we may obſerve, that the loop-hole is placed at the end of an arch cut through the wall, which is in this part at leaſt twelve feet in thickneſs. And the hole itſelf is placed at the very

very top of the arch, and approached by a flight of ſteps, which do not *begin*, till you are got ſome little way under the arch, and, by means of a riſing in the vaulted roof, at the further end, ſomewhat in the manner as repreſented in fig. V, the loop-hole is not only placed at the top of the arch, but in reality conſiderably above the vaulting at the entrance of the arch: ſo that it moſt manifeſtly appears, that whatever weapon, or ſtone from any croſs-bow, or whatever fire-brand, or fire-arrow, was ſhot in, by the beſiegers, it muſt ſtrike againſt this riſing part of the vaulting, and fall down within the arch, without a poſſibility of doing any great injury. It could ſtrike no one, except ſome croſs-bow-man, that might chance to be, at that very inſtant, at the loop-hole, within the caſtle, going to ſhoot at the enemy; and even he muſt place himſelf very aukwardly to be ſtruck by it: for theſe loop-holes, though the lowermoſt in the caſtle, are yet ſo high from the ground, that any weapon from without muſt *aſcend* to enter them; and as to any fire-brand, or fire-arrows, ſhot in, it is plain ſuch muſt fall down within the ſtone arch itſelf, and remain there, and could not enter the rooms of the caſtle, becauſe even the foot of the ſteps, down which it might poſſibly deſcend, is ſome diſtance within the arch.

ANOTHER circumſtance alſo that deſerves notice is, that whereas the wall might appear to have been weakened by theſe arches, yet it may be plainly ſeen, that the ſteps do ſo ſtrengthen it, and that ſo great a thickneſs is left, even cloſe round the loop-hole, that there was no danger from that circumſtance.

Thus was the lower floor protected; which, both on account of its ſtrength, and darkneſs, was generally deſigned merely to hold the ſtores. And it was, in many caſtles, vaulted with ſtone,

as may plainly be ſeen to have been the caſe, in Portcheſter caſtle, and alſo in Norwich caſtle.

THESE lower rooms (for there were two of them) reached from the ground to a little beneath the bottom of the draw-bridge and grand portal, ſo that their height was at leaſt above fourteen feet.

THE next rooms reached in clear height above twenty feet more, almoſt to the lower range of loop-holes, which are ſeen in the view of the north-eaſt front, fig. III; and it is therefore plain, that on this floor, where was the principal entrance, there were no windows or lights whatſoever, not even loop-holes, on the ſame ſide with the entrance and the top of the ſtair-caſe. And the reaſon is obvious; for if there had been any, they would have been too much expoſed to an enemy, who ſhould have made themſelves maſters of the ſteps, or ſhould be making an attack upon the portal.

IT is, however, to be obſerved, that in the veſtibule, in the ſmall tower, *on this very floor*, there are large and handſome windows: but the reaſon for this ſeems evidently to have been, that this veſtibule was conſidered as a place of very little importance in a cloſe ſiege, and where none of the garriſon would ever *neceſſarily* be found: for the portcullifes (as I before obſerved) of both portals were worked in or near the room above; and in that room, though it be ſo much higher, we may obſerve, there are only loop-holes; the diſpoſition of the loop-holes and windows in this ſmall tower, being in an inverted order, from what they are in the great one.

THESE large and elegant windows, therefore, in the veſtibule, added to the flatelineſs of the entrance, and yet occaſioned no ſort of danger to the garriſon. And perhaps one other *ſingular* circumſtance ought to be mentioned, with regard to them:

with regard to them: that whereas directly under the veſtibule was the dungeon for the priſoners; and in the floor of the veſtibule was an open ſpace left, like the cavity for a trap-door, at a great height above their heads, for the ſake of air; therefore, if weapons ſhot in at theſe windows could annoy any perſons whatever, it muſt have been merely the priſoners confined in that wretched den, who alone, by means ofthis trap, were expoſed to that annoyance.

THIS ſecond ſtory (or firſt floor above the ground), though it had no other large windows than thoſe in the veſtibule, had however loop-holes on all the other ſides, except the north-eaſt; and they were larger than thoſe on the ground-floor, as they might well be permitted to be, becauſe they were ſo much higher from the ground. But they were, in other reſpects, contrived much in the ſame manner. Only, inſtead of ſteps, there was a ſtone ſtage, within the arch of the wall (as repreſented fig. VI.), on which two croſs-bow-men might ſtand.

ON this floor was the guard-chamber. And here the chief part of the garriſon had both their reſidence and their lodging[*b*].

[*b*] To us, in this more refined age, it may naturally ſeem very aſtoniſhing, how ſo great a number of men could find lodging in ſuch a building: but a little anecdote which I will venture to relate, on good authority, of the family of Lord Lovat (who was one of the laſt Chieftains that preſerved the rude manners, and barbarous authority, of the early feudal ages), may perhaps enable us to form ſome idea of their manner of dwelling. This powerful laird reſided in an houſe which would be eſteemed but an indifferent one for a very private, plain country gentleman, in England; as it had, (I think) properly, only four rooms on a floor, and thoſe not large. Here, however, he kept a ſort of court, and ſeveral public tables; and had a very numerous body of retainers always attending. His own conſtant reſidence, and the place where he received company, even at dinner, was in the very room where he lodged; and his lady's ſole apartment was her bed-room, and the only proviſion for the lodging of the ſervants and retainers, was a quantity of ſtraw, which they ſpread, every night, on the floors of the lower rooms, where the whole inferior part of the family, conſiſting of a very great number of perſons, took up their abode.

Within the wall alſo, at the north corner, is a ſmall room, with a fire-place; which ſeems to have been the ſtation of ſome officer who commanded the guard. Its ſituation may be ſeen at (*r*) Fig. I.

THE next floor to this, or the third ſtory, contained the rooms of ſtate; and was about thirty-two feet in height; and took in the lowermoſt range of loop-holes, ſeen on the north-eaſt ſide (Fig. III.), as alſo the magnificent windows that were over them.

AND here, as to the loop-holes, they were contrived juſt like thoſe laſt-mentioned; but, in all probability, the arches, through which they were approached, were concealed behind the arras, with which (according to the cuſtom of the times) theſe rooms were hung.

AND as to the great windows, they were not only placed at ſuch a vaſt height in the rooms, and ſo far from the ground, that any weapons ſhot in muſt, on that account alone, in all probability, ſtrike againſt the top of the arches cut in the wall to give light from theſe windows; but the vaulting of theſe arches was alſo purpoſely placed ſo low, and ſo near to the top of the windows, that, large and magnificent as they were, it was nevertheleſs almoſt impoſſible for any weapons ſhot in to reach the cielings of the rooms, or (conſidering the thickneſs of the walls) even to come into the rooms at all. The outward ornaments of theſe windows are now almoſt entirely deſtroyed; but, from the little that remains, it appears they were conſtructed much like thoſe at Canterbury caſtle, which are more perfect: and I have endeavoured to repreſent ſomewhat of the ancient form, both of thoſe on the principal floor, and of thoſe in the upper ſtory, in Fig. VII.

IN

IN the laſt place, it deſerves notice, that, for the convenience of the garriſon, in caſe of a cloſe ſiege, and that orders might be ſpeedily communicated to all parts, there was on this floor, within the thickneſs of the wall, in the ſpace between the loop-holes and the windows, a gallery, as repreſented by the dotted lines in fig. II; which in different places aſcended, and deſcended, by means of ſteps; and did not run merely horizontally. From which gallery, and the ſtaircaſe at (m), there was an eaſy communication both with the great cavities in the walls at (i and k), where the two portcullifes of the two portals were worked; and alſo with the chamber over the veſtibule. And there was, beſides, another ſmaller and narrower gallery, within the thickneſs of the wall, in the floor above.

As to the uppermoſt ſtory of all, which was the fourth, the rooms of which were about ſixteen feet in height; it being ſo very high from the ground, there was no need of any precautions for its defence, in the ſtructure of the windows. It had, therefore, very large ones, like the grand apartments; and theſe were not far from the floor. And the rooms here (as well as the leads of the caſtle) were made uſe of occaſionally for placing the catapultas, baliſtas, warwolfs, and other various inſtruments of war, to annoy the enemy; and were the places from whence the ſoldiers moſt conveniently attacked the beſiegers. From theſe rooms there was alſo a door, which opened upon the leads of the ſmall tower (as may be ſeen Fig. III.) on which leads alſo inſtruments of war might be placed.

3dly, As to the devices to deceive, and miſlead the enemy; there were (I think), in this caſtle, three at leaſt; and perhaps even ſome others might be mentioned.

THE firſt, and moſt remarkable, was a ſtone-arch, and falſe portal, upon the ſtaircaſe, juſt by the firſt great gate. Its ap-

pearance may be ſeen at (q) Fig. III. and it could anſwer no other end than to deceive and miſlead the beſiegers, by inducing them to attempt a breach in this place, when once they ſhould be maſters of the ſteps, and of the firſt gate: for although any one, who looks at the north-eaſt front of this building, would at firſt ſight inſtantly conclude, that *here* was formerly an ancient entrance, now ſtopped up; yet, upon meaſuring carefully, and examining the inſide of the caſtle, it will be found, that this imaginary entrance is directly againſt the moſt ſolid part of the tranſverſe wall; it being not only againſt the ſide of the ſolid north-eaſt wall, which is here twelve feet thick, but moreover againſt the *end* of the north-weſt wall, as may be ſeen in the plan (Fig. I.), where its ſituation is marked at (N). And it is to be obſerved, that the little apartment (p) before-mentioned, at this north corner, is above the crown of the arch; and therefore could not diminiſh the ſtrength of the wall of this falſe portal.

AND that *deception* alone was the end deſigned to be anſwered by the conſtruction of this arch, appears the more probable, becauſe in Dover caſtle there is not only ſuch a great arch, and falſe portal, ſituated in a manner ſomewhat ſimilar, on the grand ſtaircaſe; but there is, moreover, another ſmall falſe portal on the ground, on the ſouth ſide, which, on examination, is found to be not only againſt the whole thickneſs of the wall of that front, but alſo directly againſt the end of the ſtrong partition wall in the middle, which ſeparates the rooms of that caſtle. And ſomething of the ſame kind may alſo be obſerved in the caſtle at Norwich; where the two great arches, on the ground, on the weſt ſide, that have often been ſuppoſed ancient entrances; and at leaſt appear weak places; are in reality part of the walls, ſtronger than any other.

THE

THE next deception was the round tower at the ſouth angle; ſee (s) fig. i. And here, as well as by the falſe portal, many late obſervers of this building have been deceived, juſt as the beſiegers were intended to be. For it has been taken for granted that this was a *weak* part of the building, and that this tower was raiſed to ſtrengthen it. And it ſeems indeed, on the outſide, as if this round tower itſelf might, at any time, be more eaſily battered down than any other part of the caſtle. But, whoever ſhould attempt to try the experiment, would ſoon diſcover the error: for although it has indeed loop-holes, and ſeems, on the outſide, to be a very injudicious ſtructure; yet it is, in reality, almoſt all a maſs of ſolid ſtone from top to bottom; and has no cavities whatever, except a few ſmall and exceeding ſtrong arches leading to the loop-holes; and none even of theſe are upon the ground-floor; for there it is all one entire maſs.

AND deceptions of this kind are alſo to be found in other ſtructures: for in Colcheſter caſtle, a great round tower, that projects very aukwardly at one corner, is the very ſtrongeſt part of the building; the walls of it being no leſs than between twenty and thirty feet thick.

THE only remaining circumſtance of this kind, which I ſhall take notice of, is the affected appearance of weakneſs in the ſmall ſquare tower and veſtibule: wherein, notwithſtanding its large and open windows, and an appearance of ſlightneſs, and want of ſolidity in the walls, it may be obſerved, that its foundations were enormouſly thick and maſſy, and its whole ſtructure exceeding ſtrong. And it may plainly be ſeen, that whatever weapons the enemy ſhould endeavour to throw, either into the veſtibule, or againſt any other part of this tower, they would employ their aſſaults in vain.

AND on this occaſion it ought to be remarked, that although we find in ſeveral different caſtles ſuch an uniformity of *deſign*

in

in theſe kind of deceptions, yet they were deviſed, and carried into execution, in different caſtles, in a very different manner; ſo that it was by no means eaſy for the beſiegers, from their knowledge of any one caſtle, to be aware what the deceptions exactly were, or in what parts they were ſituated, in any other. Neither could they by any means venture to judge every appearance of this ſort, at firſt ſight, to be merely a deception; becauſe, in almoſt all old caſtles, there actually were, ſomewhere or other, old arches filled up, and other weak places. And if even ſkilful engineers could not form a certain judgement as to theſe kind of appearances in the walls; much leſs could the rude undiſciplined militia of thoſe times; who were generally haſtily aſſembled, out of diſtant counties, by the great lords, and hurried away to the attack of ſome fortreſs.

A cautious regard to the concealment of theſe deceptions, was probably one of the principal cauſes that ſo much care was uſed in old time, to prevent ſtrangers from entering into theſe caſtles, and ſurveying them; and the continuance of that idea is perhaps the reaſon, why the Turks, even to this day, have ſo much jealouſy in that reſpect; for it is well known, that although they were the firſt inventors of cannon, they are the laſt improvers of fortification.

As to the variety in the execution of the ſeveral contrivances for deception; we may obſerve, that even in the few caſtles which I ſhall produce as inſtances of a ſimilarity of deſign, there was yet much difference. For in Rocheſter, the falſe portal is in the moſt conſpicuous part of the principal ſtair-caſe, and looks like a grand entrance: at Dover, it is in a more concealed part of the ſtair-caſe, and looks only like an old private doorway ſtopped up; and the other falſe portal at Dover is on the ground, quite on the oppoſite ſide of the caſtle from the entrance, and ſeems like a ſmall old ſally-port: at Norwich, the

arches look more like weak parts of the wall, than like portals or door-ways: and, at Guilford, the deception has the appearance of having been the old ſquare entrance of ſome vault, or ſubterraneous ſally-port. And again, at Rocheſter, the round tower looks merely like a defective piece of new work; but at Colcheſter, like a large ſpacious room, imprudently built, for ſtate, and ornament.

4thly, WITH regard to the methods deviſed for the ſafety of the ſtores; and for the ſecurity of the priſoners, in ſuch a manner as to need no conſiderable guard; it may be ſufficient, as to the former, to obſerve, that the lower apartments, ſo well protected from fire, and from any breaches, were deſtined to this uſe: and as to the latter, that there was a dreadful dungeon for their reception, of a very ſingular ſtructure. It was directly under the little ſquare tower juſt mentioned; and was encloſed by four walls of enormous thickneſs; as may be judged from the ſmallneſs of the room in proportion to the ſize and dimenſions of the tower; which alſo ſhews the real ſtrength of that building, notwithſtanding its external appearance of weakneſs. It was ſo deep, that even from the ground-floor of the great tower it was deſcended by a ſteep flight of ſteps, cut through a part of the wall, that is here twelve feet in thickneſs: and theſe were ſo narrow, that only one man could deſcend at once; and ſo ſteep, that it was impoſſible for any one to ſtand firmly on them, in ſuch a manner as to make any very conſiderable efforts to force open the door. There were no windows whatever to this dungeon; and the only means of conveying air into it, was by a ſquare cavity, like that for a trap-door, placed in the floor of the veſtibule, at a great height above the heads of the priſoners; the ſituation of which may be ſeen at (1) fig. 1.; this trap was large enough to let down a man, and it is probable therefore that the priſoners themſelves were ſometimes put in this way; and that their proviſions alſo were here let down to them.

THIS

THE dungeon is arched with ſtone, and there is moreover a ſtrong ſtone floor over it. And, as the large windows of the veſtibule might let in rain, there is, in this floor, a curious ſtone gutter cut, to let off the water; having the floor made ſloping towads it; which ſeems to have been a very neceſſary precaution; as the wet, if it once got into the dungeon, could hardly ever evaporate.

5thly, THE next contrivance worthy our attention, is the means deviſed for the eaſy conveyance of the great engines of war into the ſeveral apartments, and up to the top of the caſtle: and this alſo is very curious, and excellently well deſigned.

ANY one who has at all conſidered the plan of this caſtle, and the ſtructure and ſituation of the ſtair-caſes, will eaſily perceive, that if the ſtores were to be conveyed up and down thoſe winding narrow aſcents, it would create much confuſion; not to mention, that it would be impoſſible to convey through ſuch paſſages the large beams of which the catapultas and baliſtas [*c*], and many other inſtruments of war, are known

[*c*] That catapults, and baliſtas, and ſuch kind of warlike engines, which had ſeveral different names, were in uſe in the time of our firſt Norman kings, both in England and abroad, appears from a variety of paſſages in hiſtory; a few of which I ſhall cite. Lord Lyttelton, in his Life of Henry the Second (vol. iii. p. 466), ſays, "*Saladin aſſaulted Aſcalon, on the ſide of the Continent, with thirteen* "*catapults, the great artillery of thoſe times, which threw heavy ſtones againſt the* "*walls*;" and this was about the year 1187, above an hundred years after the building of Rocheſter caſtle. Camden informs us, "That the ſtrength of "the machines uſed for throwing ſtones was incredibly great; and that with "thoſe called *mangonels* they uſed to throw *mill-ſtones*." He adds, "That, "when king John beſieged Bedford caſtle, there were on the caſt ſide one pet-"rary and two mangonels daily applying againſt the tower; and on the weſt, "two mangonels battering the old tower; as alſo upon the ſouth, and another "upon the north part, which beat two breaches in the walls." When Kenil-worth caſtle was beſieged by Henry III. the garriſon had engines which caſt ſtones of an extraordinary bigneſs. And biſhop Gibſon, in his edition of Camden, ſays, "That near the caſtle they ſtill find balls of ſtone ſixteen inches in diameter, "ſuppoſed to have been thrown in ſlings, in the time of the Barons wars." Holinſhed (p. 859), tells us, "That Edward I. at the ſiege of Struvely [Stirling] "Caſtle,

known to have been compoſed. To obviate this inconvenience therefore, there were three ſquare wells, made in the walls of the caſtle, at (s, t, u,) *Fig.* I. ſo as not to interfere with the galleries; and theſe wells opened at the bottom, on the ground-floor, into arches ſo high, as to allow of the turning of large beams of timber into them: and in their aſcent, they had alſo other *flues* (if I may be allowed the expreſſion) branching off, as in *Fig.* VIII. to the galleries on the two upper floors: but none to the firſt floor, on which the grand entrance was, as it is manifeſt they would *there* be needleſs. And we may eaſily perceive, that it was more convenient to have them take their riſe from the ground floor, rather than from the firſt floor; both becauſe it ſaved the trouble of conveying the ſtores up the grand ſtair-caſe, and alſo occaſioned leſs confuſion in thoſe apartments, which would of courſe be moſt crowded with ſoldiers.

" Caſtle, cauſed certain engines of wood to be raiſed up againſt the caſtle, which " ſhot off ſtones of two or three hundred weight."

Theſe kind of engines, however, though continued in uſe ſo long as till the introduction of cannon, were of a very early invention, and were even uſed very frequently by the Romans. And what the effect of them was, we may conceive from two very remarkable accounts given of them, by Joſephus and Tacitus. Joſephus, in his account of the ſiege of Jeruſalem, ſays, " That thoſe engines that threw ſtones were " larger than the reſt; and that by means of theſe the Romans not only repelled the " excurſions of the Jews, but drove away thoſe that were upon the walls; and the " ſtones that were caſt were of the weight of a talent (that is, above an hundred " weight), and were carried two furlongs and further." (See Jewiſh war, b. v. c. vi.). And Tacitus, in deſcribing a battle fought near Cremona, between the army of Vitellius and the army of Veſpaſian, under Antonius Primus, ſays, " The ſoldiers of Vitellius planted their miſſive engines on the ridge of the Poſt- " humian Way, that thence, with more room, and over clear fields, they might " diſcharge their deadly contents: and one of amazing bulk, of the ſort called " baliſtæ, belonging to the fifteenth legion, overthrew the enemies ranks, by pour- " ing upon them great maſſy ſtones." (Tacitus, l. iii.)

SOME perſons, on an haſty view, have conceived theſe wells to have been formed for the purpoſe only of drying the walls; but it is impoſſible (both from their ſize and ſituation), to ſuppoſe that to have been their uſe and deſign; becauſe they not only have their outlets *within* the caſtle, rather than on the *outſide* of it; but thoſe outlets are moreover merely into *cloſe* galleries, where there could be very little evaporation. And beſides this, their vaſt ſize, exact poſition, and curious contrivance, ſhew they were deſigned for a far more important purpoſe.

6thly, THE means deviſed for giving a quick alarm was alſo a moſt extraordinary invention, and executed in a moſt exquiſite manner. There was formed and cut, within the thickneſs of the wall, a ſmall flue, not more than eight or ten inches ſquare, which went down from the top of the caſtle into the ſeveral apartments, and even round thoſe apartments; and was carried (for reaſons which I am not able to explain ſo fully as I could wiſh) even through the places where the ends of the beams and rafters of the floors were inſerted, and through the ends of the beams themſelves. This fact may appear a little doubtful and extraordinary; but will be found, on careful examination, to be unqueſtionable; for in one place you may even ſee completely through a part of this flue, and where it paſſed through the ends of the beams.

AND here I cannot but obſerve, that this circumſtance is a ſtrong proof, that theſe cavities could not poſſibly, any more than thoſe laſt-mentioned, be mere ſpiracles for drying the walls: for, although ſuch might have been formed in the *thickneſs* of the walls, and opening outwards; yet it would be very abſurd to ſuppoſe the architects would be at the trouble of perforating *all* the beams for ſuch a purpoſe: and it would be equally abſurd to ſuppoſe, that ſuch ſpiracles ſhould be made altogether near

near to the inward ſurface of the walls, rather than in the midſt of the ſubſtance of them; and opening to the inſide of the caſtle, where they would occaſion inſufferable damps, rather than to the outſide, where they would better have ſerved for the purpoſe of drying the work. Their uſe, therefore, ſeems plainly to have been ſuch as I have pointed out. And, before I quit the conſideration of theſe flues, it well deſerves notice, that there are alſo two other ſmall ſquare cavities, or perforations, by the ſide of one of the arches of communication on the ground-floor; which latter cavities paſs through the whole thickneſs of the partition-wall, and are commonly ſuppoſed to have been deviſed merely for the eaſy conveyance of intelligence from one room to the other, when the doors between were ſhut: but, as this was too trifling a conſideration, I am rather apt to ſuſpect they were the very outlets, at the bottom, from the flues I have juſt mentioned. I will not, however, dare to aſſert this poſitively, becauſe it is difficult, if not impoſſible, to aſcertain the fact, on account of the great thickneſs of the wall, and the ſmall dimenſions of theſe perforations, which prevents our ſeeing whether the flue actually does communicate with them within the ſubſtance of the wall or no. Indeed, conſidering the great thickneſs of all the walls, and the manner in which the flue was every where concealed, it was a matter of difficulty to trace it at all in ſo many parts as it is traced; and we cannot be ſurprized that ſuch a ſort of device has paſſed unnoticed in ſo many other caſtles. Enough, however, remains viſible *here*, to convince any perſon. And the man who now ſhews the caſtle, has traced the flue often, both by ſight, and by throwing in ſmall pebbles. The two ſquare cavities I have juſt mentioned, as on the ground-floor, are repreſented at (x), fig. IX.

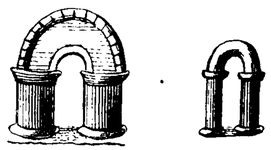
7thly, FOR ſupplying the garriſon with water, in caſe of a cloſe ſiege, there was a moſt admirable contrivance of a well, of excellent workmanſhip, within the very middle of the partition wall. It was alſo made to go up through the whole wall, from the bottom of the tower, to the very leads of the caſtle; and on every floor were ſmall arches in the wall, forming a communication between the pipe of the well and the ſeveral apartments, as are ſhewn in fig. IX. where the ſituation of the pipe may be ſeen, in the middle of the wall, reaching from (a) to (b), and from whence it appears that a pulley being placed at the top of the caſtle, water was moſt eaſily drawn up to every apartment; and to the very leads. This well had moreover, from the ſurface of the round, down to the water, little ſquare cavities cut in the ſides of the pipe, at proper diſtances, forming a kind of ſteps (like thoſe deſcribed to be in the well of the Great Pyramed in Egypt); ſo that any perſon, by placing his hands and feet in them, might very eaſily deſcend to the bottom to cleanſe it. The whole deſerves to be viewed with great attention, on account of the beauty and compactneſs of the ſtone-work and maſonry.

8thly, THE methods of conveying away the ſmoak, and all manner of filth, from the ſeveral apartments, ought not to paſs utterly unnoticed.

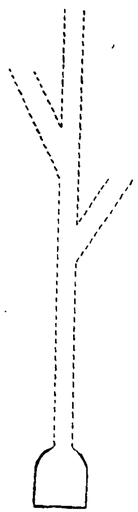
THE chimneys were placed in the rooms as at (y) and (z), fig. I. and II. and the fire-places, or hearths, were under ſemicircular arches, richly ornamented with fret-work, and in form reſembling fig. X. But inſtead of ſuch chimneys as are now uſed, there was a ſort of conical cavity (as in fig. XI.), reaching to an aperture on the ſide of the caſtle, exactly like a loop-hole; and placed uniformly with the other loop-holes, ſo as not to be diſtinguiſhed from them in the outward appearance of the building.

THE outlets to the ſinks, and other conveyances of filth, were nearly in the ſame manner; only reverſed and going downwards;

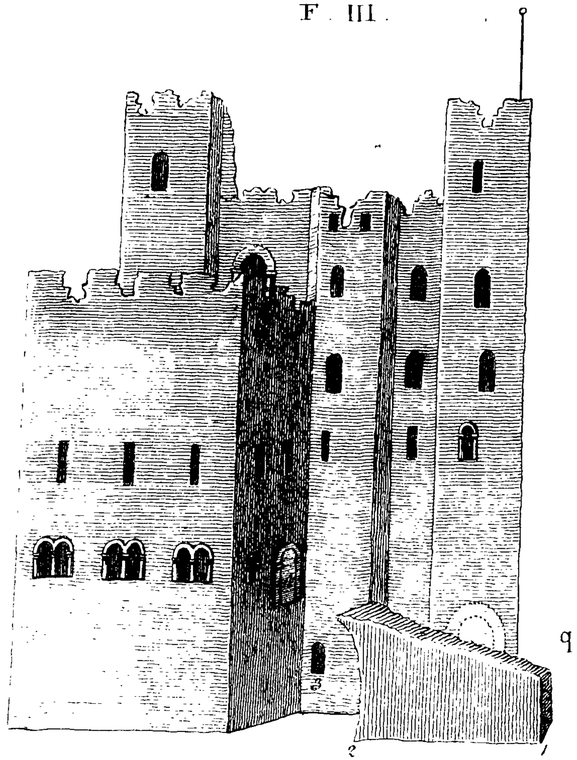
F. VII.



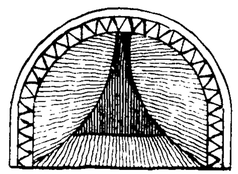
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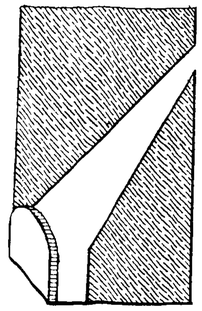


F. III.



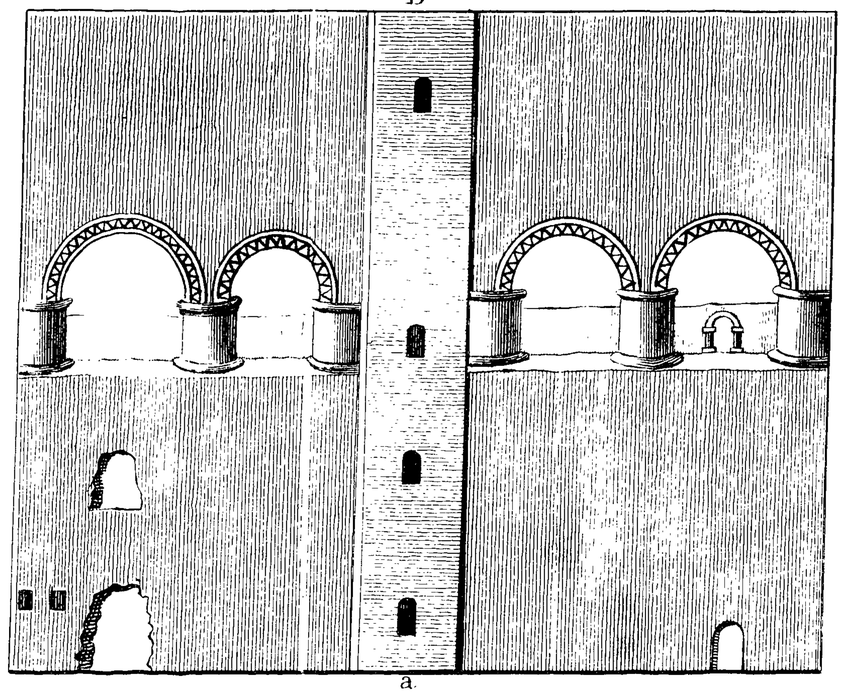
F. X.





F. XI

F. IX



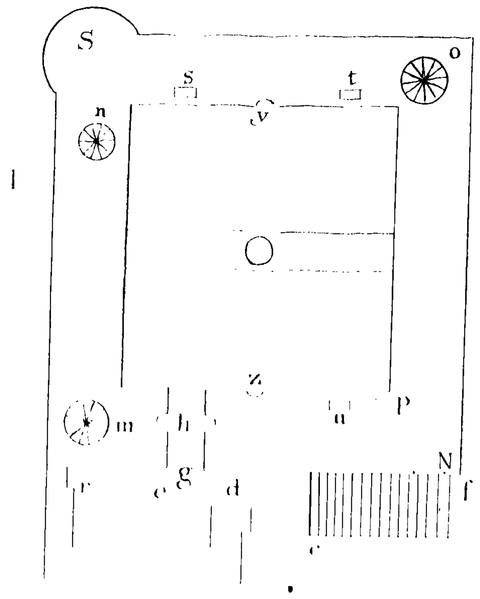
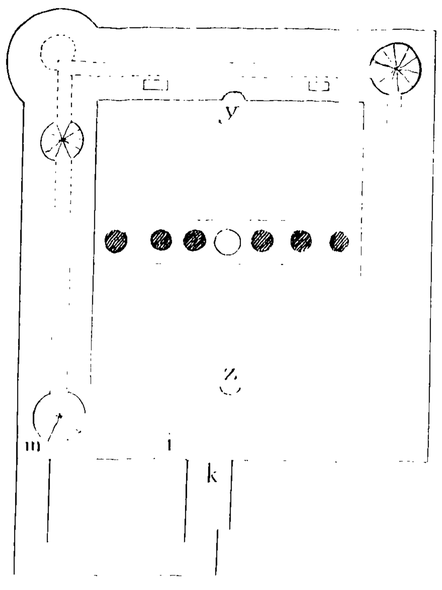
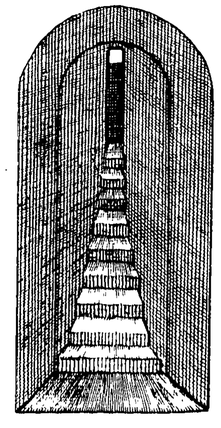


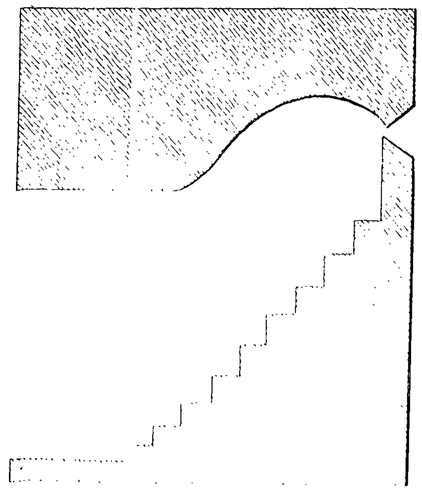
Fig. I.



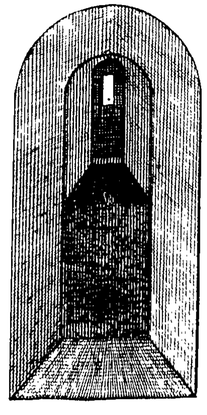
F. II.



F. IV.



F. V.



F. VI.

wards; and ſloping *ſideways* to the correſponding loop, inſtead of deſcending perpendicularly; that they might not give admiſſion to any weapons. Which method was uniformly obſerved in moſt caſtles.

9thly, THE proviſion made for maintaining the ſtate and dignity of the Commandant, or lord of the caſtle, deſerves our attention. It has been already remarked, how ſuperb the grand entrance was; and the apartments for reſidence were no leſs ſo. There were evidently three. Two great rooms each about 50 feet long, by above 20 wide, and 32 feet high; and one ſmaller chamber at the top of the little tower. The two great chambers, to render them more light and airy, were ſeparated (not by a ſolid wall, as the apartments on the other floors were) but by great arches, of a moſt admirable proportion and workmanſhip, and highly finiſhed: and theſe arches were left open at top, but had a partition-wall, running all along under them, of a ſufficient height for the arras, with which moſt undoubtedly theſe rooms were hung.

THE door by which the communication was made between theſe chambers is of curious workmanſhip. Its ſituation in the partition wall, as well as that of the great arches, may be ſeen fig. IX. and by comparing its dimenſions with thoſe of the arches, their greatneſs may be conceived: a circumſtance that will alſo ſtill more plainly appear, if we conſider that the arras, which covered the low walls under them, would nevertheleſs be of height ſufficient, if continued round the rooms, to conceal on the other ſides the paſſages through which the loop-holes on this floor were approached.

HAVING given this particular account of Rocheſter caſtle, from which the general plan and deſign of theſe kind of buildings may be underſtood; I ſhall beg leave now to illuſtrate briefly what has been ſaid, by referring to ſome few others.

AND

AND the firſt I ſhall mention is Canterbury caſtle. With regard to which I muſt obſerve, that whoever looks at that ancient ſtructure attentively, will almoſt inſtantly perceive, that the preſent entrances have been *forced*, and could never have been there originally; and that there was indeed once a grand entrance, ſimilar to that at Rocheſter; the whole of the fortification being in a certain degree in the ſame ſtyle. All which I ſhall endeavour to ſhew, by giviug a ſhort and general deſcription of the preſent ſtate of the whole building *.

THIS caſtle is 88 feet in length, and 80 in breadth. The two fronts which are of greateſt extent have each four buttreſſes; whereas the others have only three: and the walls are, in general, about 11 feet thick. But as this tower is ſo much larger than that at Rocheſter, there are two partition-walls inſtead of one; and in theſe are, in like manner as at Rocheſter, the remains of arches of communication.

THE ſituation of the walls may be ſeen in the plan, fig. XII. pl. XXIII.; where moreover are marked the places of two circular ſtair-caſes in the corners, at (a) and (b).

At (c) alſo is a well, juſt like that at Rocheſter, within the ſubſtance of the wall, and deſcending from the very top of the caſtle; and in the pipe of this well, as it paſſes down by the ſeveral apartments, are open arches, for the convenience of drawing water on every floor.

THERE is alſo in this caſtle, as in the former, a gallery in the wall; of which a part is laid open and viſible to the eye, at (bd); but the ſtair-caſes are ſo much ruined, that one cannot aſcend here to examine every thing with the ſame accuracy as at Rocheſter. Nor can one preciſely determine whether there were more than two ſtair-caſes: though I ſuſpect, from the appearance of the walls, that there were; and that only one went down to the ground-floor.

* There is a more exact deſcription of this caſtle in the ſequel to theſe obſervations.

IN all other reſpects, the mode of fortification ſeems to have been preciſely the ſame: for there were only loop-holes, and not one window under any of the arches in the walls on the firſt floor; and only a very few loop-holes on the ground-floor. And the ſtate apartments may clearly be ſeen to have been in the third ſtory; where alone are found large and magnificent windows, as at Rocheſter. Whilſt in the upper apartments, next the leads, are other ſmaller windows. But there are no windows lower than the grand apartments.

THE preſent entrances, on the ſouth ſide, are repreſented fig. XIII. and are moſt evidently modern breaches, made through the places where probably were two arches in the wall, leading to ſmall loop-holes, conſtructed like fig. IV. and indeed the preſent modern entrances to moſt of the old caſtles that I have ſeen have moſt manifeſtly been obtained merely in that manner.

BUT on the eaſt ſide, fig. XIV. there appears, at a conſiderable height, a large old arch, like a door-way, or portal, now bricked up: and this, on examination, will be found to have been moſt unqueſtionably the original grand entrance; for under it is a very conſiderable projection of ſolid ſtone-work, at (e), which ſeems to have been the foundation of ſome ſtair-caſe, or ſtrong adjoining building: and there are alſo, on the wall of the caſtle, marks of the upper part of the ſtairs deſcending from this portal; but theſe muſt carefully be diſtinguiſhed from thoſe left by the gabel ends of ſome houſes, that were built againſt this ſide of the caſtle ſome years ago, and are now pulled down.

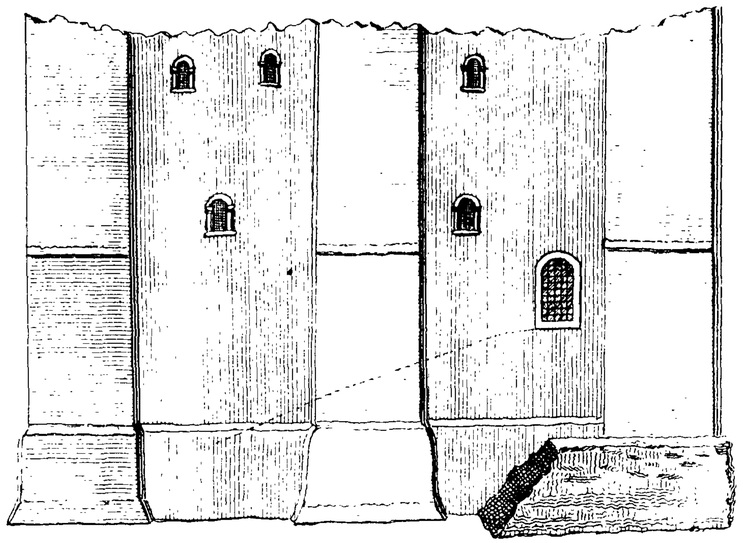
THESE marks, however, of the remains of ſteps aſcending to this portal, are by no means the only indications of its having been the original entrance; for the whole plan and formation of the ſtructure within proves it. At the back of the arch thus bricked

bricked up, is a very large arched door-way of ſtone, within the caſtle, of very curious workmanſhip; whoſe form may be ſeen rudely ſketched fig. XV.: and directly under it, is a ſteep ſtair-caſe leading down to a dungeon; the ſituation of which kind of priſons appears uſually to have been under the entrances of moſt caſtles; and was ſo at Dover particularly, as well as at Rocheſter, and in this caſtle. And both theſe circumſtances are farther proofs that this was the great portal.

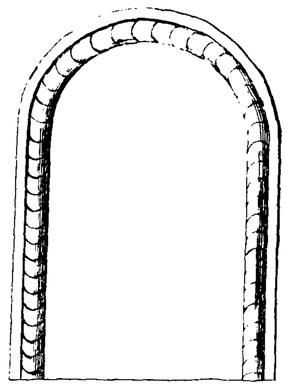
THE inhabitants of Canterbury, indeed, have an idea that this arch was broken through for the uſe of one of the houſes, which I have mentioned as having been formerly built againſt this ſide of the caſtle; but the largeneſs of the arch, the regular ſtone-work round it, the ſymmetry with which it is finiſhed, and the rich ſtone-arched door-way within the caſtle, directly againſt this arch, ſhew their miſtake in this matter. And that it was, in reality, much more ancient than thoſe houſes, may alſo be concluded, from the very circumſtance of its being bricked up ſo carefully: for, although it ſeems highly probable, for many reaſons, that it might be ſo ſtopped up at the time when the houſes were built; yet it is in the higheſt degree improbable, that they ſhould have taken the trouble of doing ſo, when the houſes were pulled down, and when ſo many other cavities and breaches in the caſtle were left open, without any ſuch care being taken.

I MUST therefore conclude, that *here*, and here only, was the original entrance; approached by means of a flight of ſteps, and a draw-bridge, as at Rocheſter: and that the fragment of the foundations of thoſe ſteps, and of the outward entrance, now remaining at the corner, was found too ſtrong to be deſtroyed, when the adjoining houſes were built.

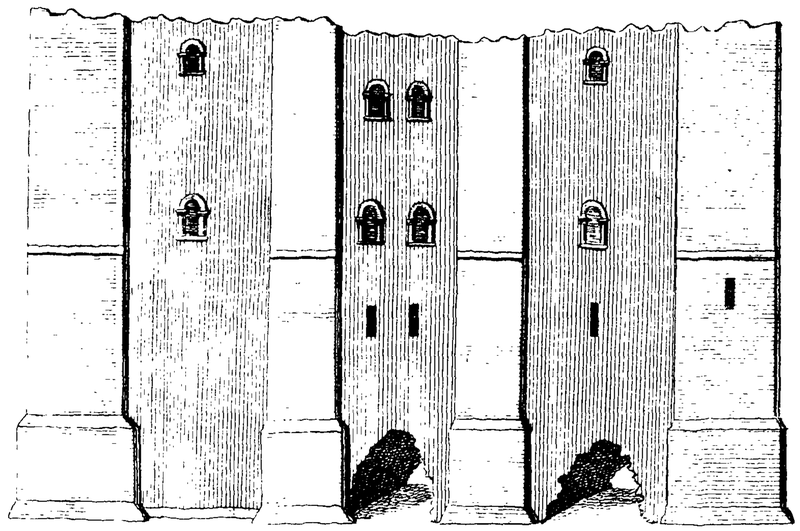
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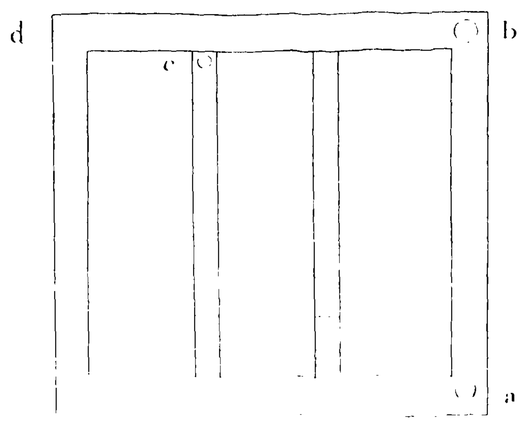
F. XIV.



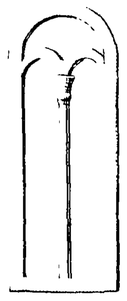
F. XV.



F. XIII.



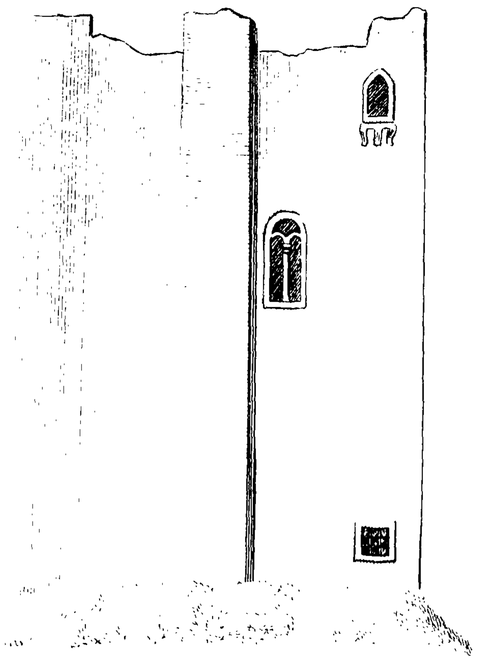
F. XII.



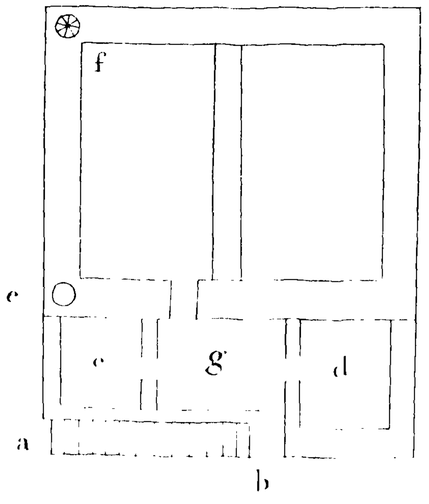
F. XXIII.



F. XXIV.



F. XXV.



F. XXI.

AND as we find in Canterbury caſtle this reſemblance of the general plan and deſign of theſe kind of buildings, which I have endeavoured to trace out; ſo does it ſtill more evidently appear in Dover caſtle; the plan of which is repreſented fig. XVI. pl. XXIV. for here we find much the ſame diſpoſition of apartments; the ſame precautions; the ſame mode of entrance; and likewiſe galleries in the wall; as at Rocheſter; only the ſituation of the famous well is here different, it not being built within the wall *.

BUT the circumſtance that demands moſt attention in this caſtle, is the remains of the grand entrance. The preſent entrance

* There is, however, an old tradition of there having been formerly another well within the Keep itſelf. Such an one is mentioned in ſome old accounts of the caſtle, referred to by Mr. Groſe. And Mr. Goſtling ſtill more fully clears up this matter; informing us (p. 18.) that this well was walled up many years ago to prevent accidents, it being in a dark corner. Indeed hardly any of theſe remarkable Keeps, or Towers, were without them. It appears from the notes collected in Mr. Groſe's curious work (to which we are indebted for the preſervation of many valuable records, as well as for reſcuing ſo many remains of antient buildings, now falling to decay, from utter oblivion), that there were ſuch kind of wells in many caſtles. There was a fine one in Colcheſter caſtle, even within the memory of perſons now living; which has been utterly deſtroyed, and of which, at preſent, not the leaſt traces are left. And there was alſo, as tradition ſays, a well three hundred feet deep, in the Keep of Cariſbrook caſtle, in the Iſle of Wight, of which no appearance whatever now remains. In like manner we are told there was a well in the Keep of the caſtle at Wincheſter, though both it, and the caſtle itſelf, are now deſtroyed; and mention is made of this well in Holinſhed. There was alſo, according to the account given in King's Vale Royal of Cheſhire, a well of a moſt prodigious depth in the chief tower of Beeſton caſtle. And (as Mr. Groſe informs us), in December 1770, in ſinking the floor of the cellar, in Bamborough caſtle, in Northumberland (which was built very much upon the ſame plan with Dover caſtle, and about the ſame time), a curious draw-well was accidentally found, the depth of which was 145 feet, all cut through the ſolid rock, which had long been forgotten, and remained concealed in one of the apartments. In the old tower alſo at Newcaſtle, which was built in the time of William the Conqueror, is a well of very conſiderable depth, and of very curious contrivance.

is indeed at (b), fig. XVI. and at (o), fig. XVII. but, beſides this, there is a moſt noble flight of ſteps round two ſides of the caſtle, from (a) to (h); leading through one veſtibule at (c) to another at (g); and to a very magnificent portal at (i), which is as high as the third ſtory, where the grand apartments themſelves were. This portal, however, being now bricked up, the ſtair-caſe ſeems quite uſeleſs, and unaccountable: but that it was really the ancient entrance, appears both from its grandeur, and from its being defended, moſt evidently, by ſeveral great gates, at different heights; for there appear to have been gates near (d), and others at (c), in the firſt veſtibule; and others again about midway from thence to the top, at (f), where there is a great ſolid buttreſs, to ſtrengthen that part.

IT deſerves alſo to be remarked, that on the ſide of the ſtair-caſe, at (m), is a *falſe* portal, as at Rocheſter; which, when examined, is found to be, in reality, directly againſt the end of the front wall, where it is impoſſible there ſhould ever have been any entrance, or that any breach ſhould be made. I mentioned before, that there is alſo another *falſe* portal, on the ground, directly againſt the end of the great partition wall in the middle; and its ſituation may be ſeen in the plan at (l). The noble aſcent juſt deſcribed is built within an adjoining tower, that goes partly round two ſides of the caſtle: and at the corner, where it turns, there is not only a moſt beautiful veſtibule, adorned with very fine Saxon arches, but alſo an adjoining room at (e), which ſeems to have been deſigned for a chapel, and has its door-caſe richly ornamented. And at (d) is another room; probably deſigned for thoſe who kept caſtle-guard at the gate; or for wardours. And under theſe rooms and the ſteps is the dungeon, as at Rocheſter: only it conſiſts

of

of two vaults, and is larger. And at the top of the ſtair-caſe, is another room at (h), which probably was a bed-chamber.

THE door-caſe of the chapel is repreſented Fig. XVIII. and the arched windows of the veſtibule are rudely ſketched, Fig. XIX.

STRONG, however, and magnificent as this aſcent appears; yet even this was manifeſtly not the original one *: for whoever ſurveys the ſouth front accurately, and the wall on the ſide of the ſtair-caſe, the whole way up, will perceive the marks of a much more antient flight of ſteps, deviſed with ſtill greater precautions. The traces of theſe may ſtill be diſtinguiſhed, and inſtead of going up to the door, where the preſent common entrance is, they ſeem to have begun about (k), and to have gone over the top of that door: as may be ſeen by the dotted lines, Fig. XVII. Inſomuch, that this door-way was moſt probably under a draw-bridge originally; and (like that at Rocheſter) a mere ſally-port, at ſome conſiderable height from the ground, and without any *fixed* ſteps leading to it. In which caſe, there was manifeſtly here, at Dover, almoſt preciſely the ſame mode of entrance, and the ſame mode of defending it, as I have before deſcribed: the only difference being ſuch, as rendered this the ſtronger of the two; in conſequence of the grand portal being placed ſo much higher up, on the third and principal floor itſelf, rather than on the floor beneath it.

ON this account, alſo, there ſeems to have been another ſingularity in this building; which is, that there appears only one ſmall ſtone ſtair-caſe, within the caſtle, going from the ground-floor to the grand apartments: the reaſon whereof is

* This tower was built about the time of Henry II. as appears from ſome paſſages in Dugdale's Monaſticon.

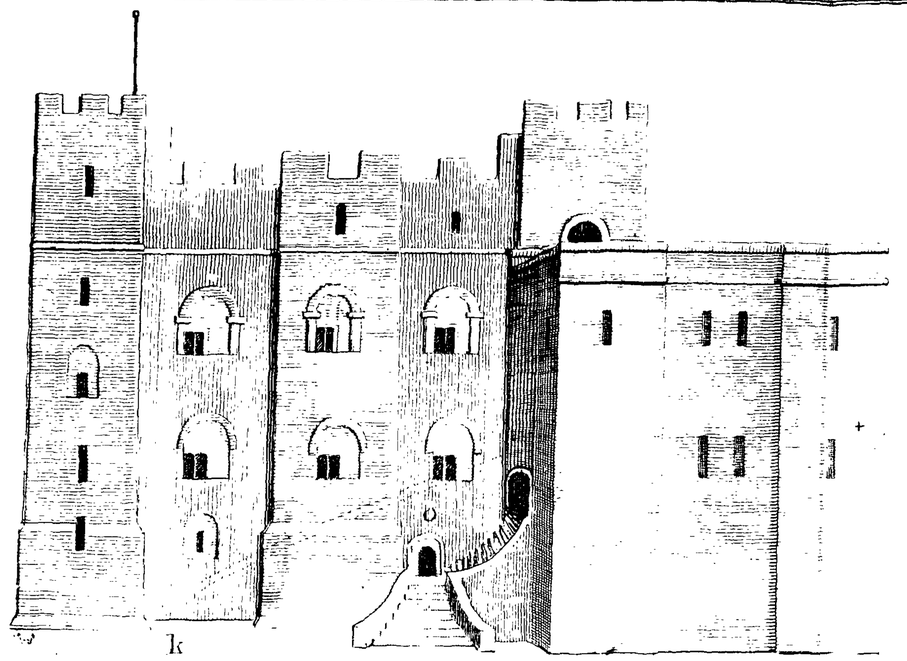
obvious; for hereby the approach to thoſe apartments, in caſe of a cloſe ſiege, and of a breach made below, or at the ſally-port, was more difficult. And as the grand flight of ſteps without led quite up to thoſe very apartments, any more ſtair-caſes would, on all other occaſions, have been uſeleſs.

I SHALL only add, that the walls of this caſtle are in ſome places near twenty feet thick; and that, though the windows have been much modernized (ſome being filled up with ſtone-work, and others having been forced out, where there were formerly only loop-holes), yet it may clearly be ſeen, that there were originally large and open windows *only* on the grand floor, which was at a great height; and on that directly above it, at the very top of the tower.

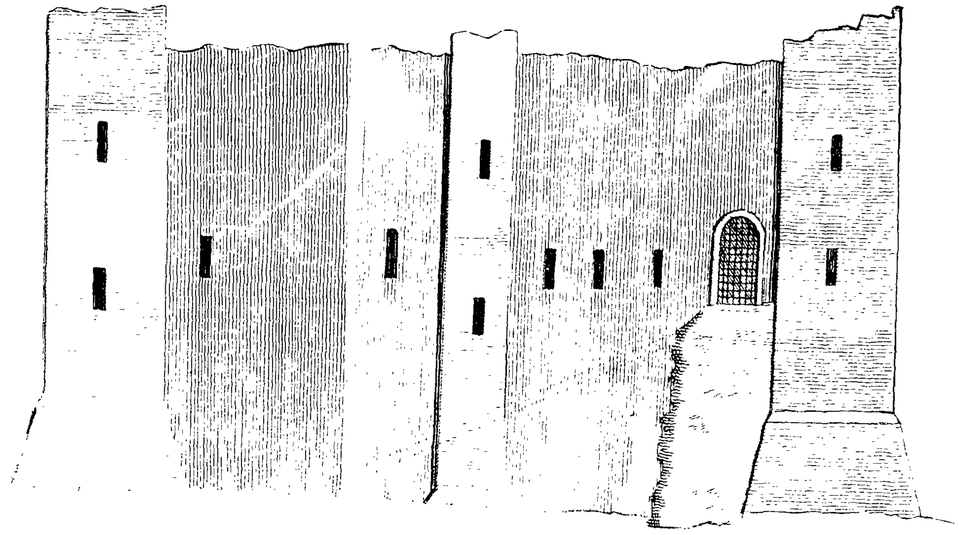
ANOTHER building that well deſerves attention, and may, with great propriety, be mentioned on this occaſion, in order to illuſtrate and confirm what has been ſaid, is the caſtle at Norwich; a moſt noble ſpecimen of Saxon architecture.

THERE is indeed a tradition, of its having been built in its preſent form, by Roger Bigot, about the time of William Rufus; and of its having been finally compleated, by Thomas de Brotherton, even ſo late as in the time of Edward II: but I cannot help ſuſpecting all this to be a miſtake: for though it may be true, with regard to the out-works, and the many great buildings incloſed within the limits and outward walls of this caſtle, which were formerly very extenſive and numerous, that a great part of them were built and compleated by thoſe two powerful lords; yet as to the keep, or maſter tower (the only conſiderable part now remaining), the ſtile of its architecture is in many reſpects ſo different from that of the towers erected in the reigns of William Rufus, and Henry I. and II. and the ornaments are ſo different from thoſe which were in uſe in the

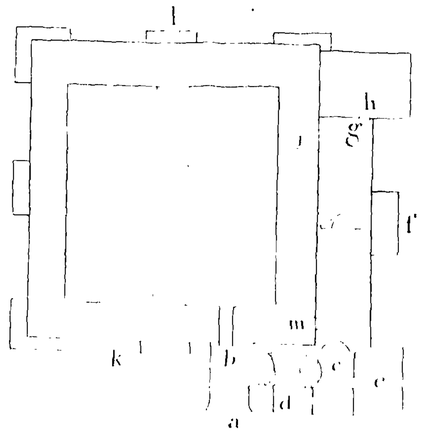
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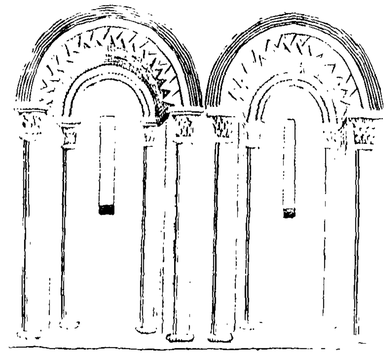
F. XVII.



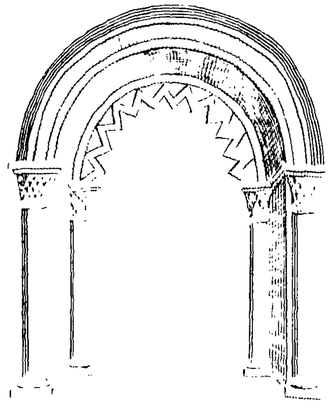
F. XXII.



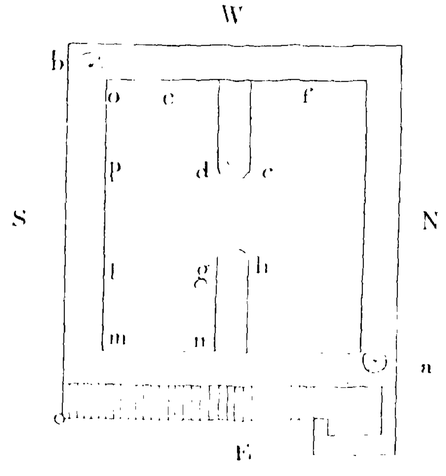
F. XVI.



F. XIX.



F. XVIII.



F. XX.

the reign of Edward II. (when *pointed* arches had been long introduced, and were eſteemed the moſt elegant of any), that I cannot but think this building of much greater antiquity, and compleatly Saxon *; though it is poſſible the ſtair-caſe might be repaired, or even rebuilt, by Thomas de Brotherton, whoſe arms are to be ſeen on a part of the wall. In ſhort, as to the main body of this building, I take it to be the very tower which was erected about the time of king Canute; who, though himſelf a Dane, yet undoubtedly made uſe of many Saxon architects; as the far greater number of his ſubjects were Saxons. And I am the rather induced to form this concluſion, becauſe I can find no *authentic* account whatever of the deſtruction of the caſtle built in Canute's time, either by war, or by accident; or of its being taken down, in order to erect the preſent ſtructure; as is ſuppoſed by ſome.

BUT whether I am right, or miſtaken, in the idea I have formed of the æra of this building, certain it is, that all its ornaments are in the true Saxon ſtile; and whatever reparations have been made in it at different times, have been very carefully made to conform thereto; ſo that it deſerves to be conſidered as one of the moſt compleat Saxon remains in England: as the bridge leading to it, is indeed unqueſtionably one of the nobleſt and moſt perfect Saxon arches now extant. And I cannot help obſerving, on this occaſion, that the reſemblance which the devices, and the mode of fortification, both in this Saxon caſtle, and in that at Colcheſter, have to thoſe built even in the

* That the Saxons ornamented many of their buildings very richly, is manifeſt from the Church at Barfreſton in Kent; from the well-known Tower at St. Edmunds Bury; and from two church towers at Dover and Sandwich, which are both richly adorned with pilaſters, and ſmall round arches, as this caſtle is.

more improved Norman times, ſeems to indicate, that the general plan was taken from ſtructures of a ſtill earlier date than either. Eſpecially as the deſcription given by Joſephus of the tower of Antonia at Jeruſalem, may lead us to ſuſpect this mode of building to have been very antient indeed, and to have been known and introduced even before the age in which he lived.

IN taking a ſurvey of this caſtle at Norwich, we ſhall find almoſt preciſely the ſame cautions uſed as in that at Rocheſter. And amongſt theſe, the firſt and moſt ſtriking circumſtance that offers itſelf to our attention, is the antient mode of entrance, of which there ſtill remain very ſtrong and viſible marks.

IT was manifeſtly by means of a large ſtone ſtair-caſe, running along the caſtern front * of the building, and aſcending to a very beautiful little tower, at the north-eaſt corner, (ſee Fig. XXVI.) Pl. XXV. The wall of this ſtair-caſe is ſhewn in this ſketch. And as a great part thereof ſtill remains entire, with two little antient windows that were in it, I have repreſented the whole detached from ſeveral little ſheds and buildings, that are at preſent erected upon it, which much disfigure this front, and form a roof and covering to the ſteps, whereas they were formerly open to the air. Upon theſe ſteps (which, though they have been often repaired, appear pretty nearly in their original ſituation), are two great ſtone-arched door-ways, one over (a), and the other over (e); both whereof formerly had great and ſtrong gates to them. And beyond theſe, higher up, and juſt under the uppermoſt window, is ſtill a platform; where the ſteps are for a ſpace diſcontinued; and where there is every mark of there having been a draw-bridge. Beyond this is a larger arch, with ſtone pillars on each ſide;

* This front of the caſtle is not preciſely facing the eaſt; but rather inclines a little towards the ſouth. Its length is 92 feet 10 inches; and the length of the north front, as alſo of the ſouth front, is 98 feet.

and

and from this platform the ſteps begin again, and were continued quite up to the firſt grand portal; the outſide of which is viſible at (b), only now bricked up.

BESIDES this, there does not appear to have been originally any entrance to the inſide of the caſtle whatever; except by a ſmall, narrow, arched paſſage, ſome feet from the ground on the outſide, and directly under where the draw-bridge was; being now the paſſage, from the inſide of the caſtle, to the debtors cell; and that through which the preſent entrance is into the lower part of the caſtle. The debtors grate is repreſented juſt over (o); and this little paſſage, which was unqueſtionably the old ſally-port, is juſt behind it. We ſee here, therefore, almoſt preciſely the ſame precautions uſed as at Rocheſter *. And as there is this reſemblance between the approach to the firſt grand portal here, and that at Rocheſter; ſo, in the next place, we find here alſo a veſtibule in the little tower, between it and the ſecond portal. Which veſtibule was, in like manner, much expoſed, and, in appearance, careleſsly defended: for each of the three great arches, ſeen at (c), together with a fourth, at the north end of the room, though now bricked up, were formerly left entirely open; as moſt manifeſtly appears, from the manner in which they are bricked up. And they are ſo large, and take up ſo great a part of the ſide walls, that this veſtibule muſt have had almoſt the appearance of an open portico, rather than of a room; and muſt have been a very beautiful ornament to the caſtle; whilſt its great height, and its being (as at Rocheſter) merely the paſſage between the firſt and ſecond portal, rendered this circumſtance no ways detrimental in caſe of a cloſe ſiege. At preſent, indeed, this veſtibule not only has

* As to a little ſquare door, at a conſiderable height upon the ſteps, on one ſide, it ſeems manifeſtly a modern breach, very rudely made.

its

its arches bricked up, but it is alſo divided into two rooms, one over the other; and it is in the upper room principally that the remains of the two portals are to be diſcovered. We there ſee, directly oppoſite to the three arches repreſented at (c), one vaſt arch, in the wall of the caſtle, reaching quite acroſs the whole ſide of the veſtibule; and under this a ſecond great arch, but of leſſer dimenſions, which was the ſecond portal; and ſtill under this, in the lower room, may be diſcerned the remains of the ſide pillars. Again in the upper chamber alſo, near the floor, at the ſouth end, may be diſcerned the top of the firſt great portal; the outſide whereof is viſible at (b). There is ſtill preſerved a paſſage from this veſtibule into the caſtle: and on one ſide of it is a ſmall arch, now walled up, communicating with a winding ſtair-caſe at that corner, which went to the top of the caſtle, as is ſhewn at (a) in the plan, fig. XX. Pl. XXIV.

BUT there was one great ſingularity in this little tower that contained the veſtibule, which ought not to paſs unnoticed: for under the veſtibule was originally an open arch; and a vaulted room; or rather receſs; left quite expoſed to the area before the caſtle: its roof, or cieling, being richly decorated with interſecting arches; which it muſt have had a fine effect, and have greatly increaſed the beautiful appearance of this front. Notwithſtanding however its ſeeming ſo light and airy, it was by no means a weak part of the building; for the ſide walls of this receſs are of extraordinary ſtrength; and the wall at the back of it, adjoining to the caſtle, is eleven feet thick. And indeed, as being the very ſtrongeſt part of the caſtle, the front arch (originally open) is now filled up, and this receſs is converted into the felons cell; whoſe grate is ſeen over (p), fig. XXVI; the entrance to it being now made in the ſide wall, from the debtors cell. It is further to be obſerved, that the veſtibule and portal,

and

and the top of the ſtairs, being here at ſo great an height, there were not any windows whatever in this eaſtern front of the caſtle, except in the ſtair-caſe, and in the veſtibule itſelf. For on the level with the grand apartments there were only loop-holes, and thoſe in the places were they are repreſented fig. XXVI. All the arches that appear in this front being merely ornamental, as well as the pilaſters againſt the wall: and even the two at (d), which have ſo much the appearance of a window, being, moſt manifeſtly, only a fantaſtic variation of ornament, probably placed there even by way of deception. But on all the other ſides of the caſtle were very magnificent windows, at a great height, on the ſame floor where the principal and ſtate apartments were ſituated: four of which may be ſeen within the four great arches of the weſt front, fig. XXVII. And that every one of theſe were in reality windows, is moſt evident, becauſe the pillars and frames ſtill remain entire, and they are filled up with materials quite different from thoſe of the caſtle walls; ſome with brick, and ſome with rough ſtones and mortar. There is, however, on this ſide, a little lower down, at (f), a brick arch, and modern window; which muſt carefully be diſtinguiſhed from the reſt: it having been forced out in theſe latter ages, as appears moſt clearly from the breaks in the ornaments on the adjoining parts of the wall, where there never was any window or opening originally, except a loop-hole, and arch leading to it. The little door alſo at (g), fig. XXVII. which now is the entrance to one of the ſtair-caſes of the caſtle, marked (b) in the plan, fig. XX. pl. XXIV. has in like manner, been forced out of late years, through the cavity where was a loop-hole.

IT is alſo further to be remarked, with regard to this weſt front, that the ſpace within the letters (h i k l) has been faced with *new work*; but all the other part of it appears moſt clearly

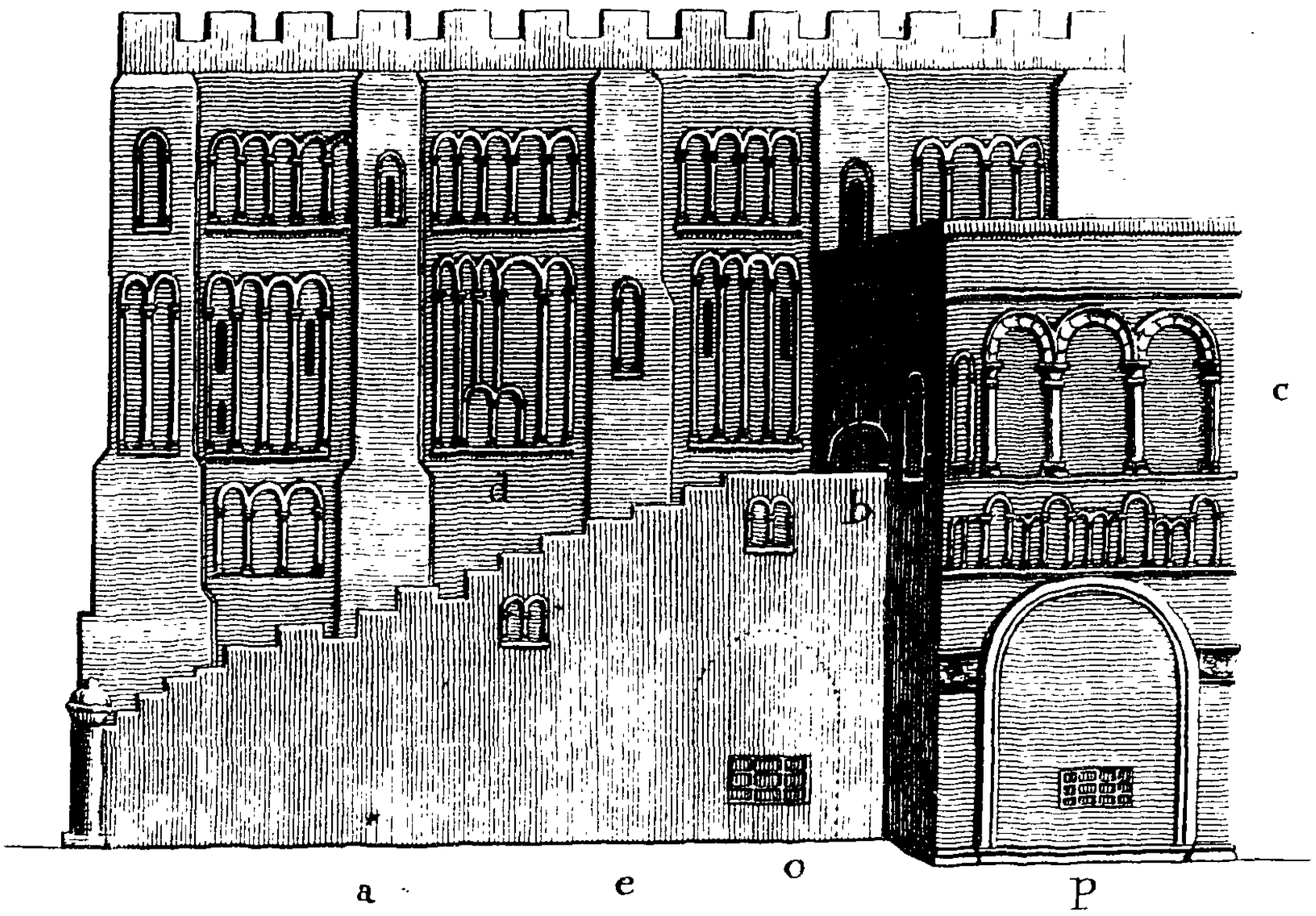
to be the old wall, and to have the original ornaments ſtill remaining. And even the new work has been finiſhed in a manner exactly ſuitable thereto; and has preſerved the windows in the very places where the perforations of the old ones were found: and has them ornamented in a manner ſimilar to thoſe on the other ſides of the caſtle, and to the two other old and original ones on each ſide in this front. And it appears, that this new work is but of little thickneſs, and a mere facing of ſtone; for the old wall, with the original galleries therein, remains ſtill entire behind it.

AT (m) and (n), fig. XXVII. are the two arches which I have before mentioned in this caſtle, as being intended to deceive by an appearance of weakneſs. And in order to make the deception ſtill ſtronger, there were in each of them four loop-holes at the top, as here repreſented. When we come to examine the inſide of the building, however, we not only find the wall as thick *here* as in any other part, but there are actually moreover two great buttreſſes, or rather two oblique walls, each ſupported by a great arch, and reaching from the middle wall to the back of theſe arches; which walls ſtill remain, and are repreſented in the plan, fig. XX. at (c d, e f).

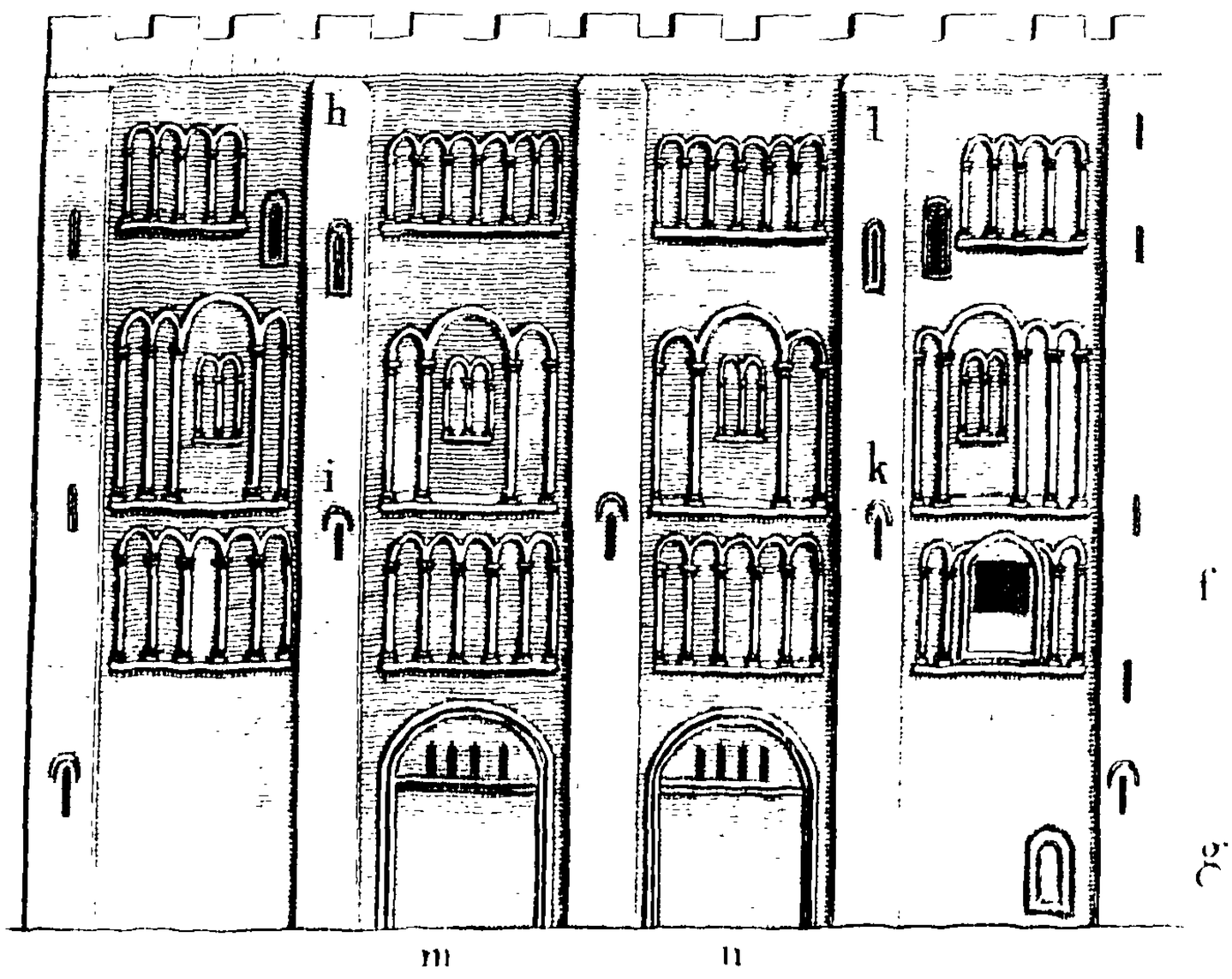
As to the inſide of this caſtle; it having been long uſed as a common county gaol, it is ſo built up with a variety of rooms, cells, and offices, and all the great arches leading to the loop-holes are ſo carefully bricked up, that many curious particulars, and marks of the old mode of fortification, can no longer be ſeen. Enough however remains, to merit attention.

AND on this occaſion I cannot but obſerve, with regard to this caſtle (and would beg leave to extend the obſervation to many others alſo), that although it appears upon record, that it was uſed as a priſon long ago, and even ſo early as in the reign of

F
XXVI.



F
XXVII



of Henry I. yet we muſt by no means conceive from thence, that it was uſed for that purpoſe *only*; and that the whole building was, from the firſt, a mere priſon, as it now is. For the real fact ſeems (from many circumſtances) to have been merely this; that the dungeons, or vaults, of this, or of other caſtles, ſo ſaid to have been priſons, were appointed *by royal authority* to be *public* and privileged priſons at *all times*; whereas the dungeons of other caſtles were permitted to be uſed as ſuch only in time of war, and it was unlawful at other times to confine any perſons therein; whilſt the upper apartments of *all* theſe towers, in both caſes, were conſtantly uſed as ſtate apartments, for the reſidence of great officers, and of their attendants, notwithſtanding the priſons underneath. And hence, perhaps, aroſe the practice, in early times, of committing ſtate priſoners to the cuſtody of different lords, at pleaſure; which was continued down to the time of Henry VIII., when the origin of it was forgotten.

THE inſide of this caſtle, inſtead of containing an open yard, as it does now, was filled up with the floors of moſt magnificent and ſpacious apartments. And, although the timbers are at preſent removed, and only ſmall ſheds are built againſt the walls, yet traces of the original diſpoſition of the whole may plainly be diſcovered, by any perſon accuſtomed to examine theſe kind of buildings: and there are ſtill viſible the marks of the ſtrong partition-wall, running acroſs from weſt to eaſt. In the middle part, this wall is thrown down from (d e) to (g h), fig. XX. pl. XXIV.; but one of the gaolers, ſtill living, remembers the foundations of that part being diſcovered under the pavement of the preſent yard; and that on digging down by the ſide of it, they found great arches of communication made through it, underground, and the obvious remains of vaults or dungeons.

IT appears alſo, that the apartments, on the ground-floor of this caſtle, were vaulted over with ſtone; for a great part of the old vault, at (g l m n), ſtill remains, and alſo the great ſtone arches of the buttreſſes (c d e f), and a ſtone vaulting over a part where the preſent chapel * is, between (c d) and (o p).

AT (d e), where appears the remaining projection of the partition-wall, may be ſeen a part rounded off, and now caſed with brick, having the appearance of a round tower: and in the middle of this a deep, circular, cavity of ſtone work, like the pipe of a well; which has been filled up in the memory of perſons now living; here therefore was, in all probability, the original well, in the wall of the caſtle; as at Rocheſter and Canterbury. And it appears that there was alſo a paſſage to it from one of the galleries, through the wall; the entrance to which is now bricked up, but ſtill viſible.

As to the galleries themſelves, a part of them ſtill remains, and it is manifeſt that there were two; one nearly on the level with the ſtate apartments; and the other ſtill higher up in the building: both ſeeming to have been conſtructed much like thoſe at Rocheſter, having ſmall aſcents and deſcents in them, to paſs over the places where the chimnies went through the walls.

BUT as to thoſe chimnies, or any of the other paſſages, or cavities in the walls, they are all here ſo carefully ſtopped up, and have ſo many buildings erected againſt them, that little or nothing is to be diſcerned as to their ſituation or ſtructure. The ſtair-caſe alſo at the ſouth weſt corner (being made uſe of to lead to that which is now the hoſpital of the caſtle), has its ancient entrance at the bottom at preſent ſtopped

* The ancient chapel, mentioned in old records as being in this caſtle, muſt have been, moſt probably, on a level with the principal floor and ſtate apartments; and could not have been originally here, where there was neither light nor a convenient approach.

up,

up, ſo as to have no communication with the inſide of the building, except juſt with thoſe apartments; and the lower entrance of it now is only through the forced door-way, at (g), fig. XXVII. And as to the other ſtair-caſe, at the north eaſt corner, that is walled up entirely.

HAVING been thus particular in the deſcription of theſe four caſtles, I ſhall more briefly deſcribe the few others which I think it neceſſary to refer to.

AND the next I ſhall mention is Portcheſter: where again we find the great tower entered originally much in the ſame manner; for it has ſtill remaining a ſtair-caſe on the outſide, at (a b), fig. XXI. pl. XXIII. at the top of which was the grand portal; and a veſtibule at (g), with a ſecond portal in it. And on each ſide this veſtibule were two rooms; one of which, (c), ſerved for a chapel; and the other, (d), tradition ſays, is that wherein Queen Elizabeth lodged, when ſhe viſited Portſmouth.

THIS tower was exceeding lofty, and had *four* floors; but there were no large windows on any of them, except in the third ſtory. Which is very high; and on which were the ſtate apartments. There was alſo one other great ſingularity in this building; that as it ſtands not in the middle of the caſtle area, or detached from the outworks, like moſt other towers; but at one corner of that area, and on the very outermoſt wall; and was therefore, at all times, expoſed to the enemies attacks; it had no windows, even on the floor where the grand apartments were, on the outſide next the country; but only windows on the two ſides that were next the court of the caſtle: and all the reſt of the apartments had only loop-holes on any ſide, with ſteps up to them, as at Rocheſter.

THERE was undoubtedly a well in this tower, at the corner, at (e), the pipe of which was carried up to the floors above, but not quite to the top. It is now filled up; but the ſtone work of it is clearly to be diſcerned on the ground, as well as the remainder of the pipe aſcending upwards.

AND there was alſo a round ſtair-caſe, at (f). And in many places are large remains that clearly indicate the lower apartments to have been all vaulted with ſtone. And there is, moreover at a conſiderable height, one appearance in the walls, within the tower, which I confeſs I do not at all know how to account for: namely that of, four curious ſtone mouldings; two of which are fixed againſt one of the walls, in each of the two great diviſions of the tower, in the form of a V, and reach from ſide to ſide: they are manifeſtly wrought with great care; but whether they contain flues, or pipes, for the conveyance of ſound, or were for any other purpoſe, muſt be left to conjecture merely; and therefore ought not, without further examination, to be aſſerted.

THE next caſtle I ſhall mention, that of Colcheſter, built moſt probably in the time of the Saxons, by Edward the Elder, one would ſuſpect, at firſt ſight, to be very different from thoſe already deſcribed; but on a nearer inſpection it will be found to have been originally much the ſame. For as to the preſent grand portal, or gate-way, on the ground, on the ſouth ſide of this building; notwithſtanding it is a moſt finiſhed piece of workmanſhip, and plainly no forced entrance, like many others; yet it will be found (like the preſent magnificent ſtair-caſe at Dover) to be indeed antiquated itſelf; but not to have been the original entrance.

WHOEVER examines it carefully will find, that although it has a groove remaining for a portcullis, and although there were alſo ancient ſeats within the gate for the wardours, yet that the whole of this portal is plainly not of the ſame workmanſhip with the reſt of the caſtle; but was inſerted in later ages, near the principal circular ſtair-caſe; when the improvements in the art of war had rendered the old devices leſs uſeful. And on this occaſion, I cannot help obſerving, that ſuch kind of inſertions of large maſſes of new work (though themſelves

of

of a very remote date) in more ancient ſtructures, are not at all unuſual; and are to be met with in ſome of our cathedrals. There is a remarkable inſtance of this kind in the cathedral church of Norwich; where we find, in the weſt front, one of the moſt magnificent great windows in England; although the whole of that part of the building is known to have been erected in the time of Henry I. long before ſuch kind of windows came in uſe; and carries with it evident marks of that age. And the fact is, that this window was inſerted, as a complete piece of frame work, the old ſolid wall having been cut away for that purpoſe, in the time of Henry VI.; when the great weſt door, which has a pointed arch, was alſo conſtructed. In proof whereof I may add, that upon making a late repair, it was found that the frame of ſtone work was ſo totally diſtinct from the reſt of the front wall, as even to have flown conſiderably therefrom.

BUT, to return to Colcheſter caſtle; on the north ſide are the manifeſt veſtiges of the ancient and original entrance; for there we find an arched gate, or portal, at a conſiderable height, bricked up, as is ſhewn fig. XXII. pl. XXIV. and directly under it are the remains of ſtrong foundations of a ſtair-caſe, or adjoining building, as at Canterbury; the marks alſo of the ſteps, from thence downwards, are plainly to be diſcerned on the wall. And adjoining to this arch, on the inſide, is a narrow gallery, and alſo a ſmall round ſtair-caſe, which does not deſcend any lower down, but goes from thence up to the top of the building. And the other larger ſtair-caſe, which went from the bottom of the caſtle to the top, was for ſecurity placed on the oppoſite ſide, at a great diſtance from this entrance. There are no large windows now remaining in the walls: that is, none of thoſe that were placed in this building originally. For the whole upper part of it has been taken down, nearly as far as the

the floor of the old ſtate rooms, in which apartments alone ſuch windows were placed. And as to the preſent great windows in the room which has, with ſo much taſte, been fitted up as a library by Mr. Gray, and in that adjoining, they were forced out, only a few years ago, with much labour, in places where there were originally only loop-holes. Neither is there now remaining any incloſed gallery, going quite round the caſtle, within the thickneſs of the walls. But the veſtiges of ſuch a paſſage may very plainly be traced at the very top of the walls as they now ſtand; the walk thar is there at preſent, ſunk in the midſt of the walls like a ſort of channel, being moſt evidently the bottom part of ſuch a gallery. Which circumſtance has been very judiciouſly obſerved by Mr. Strutt, who has given a very curious account of this building. The chimnies, whereof four at leaſt ſtill remain, and the drains, are all conſtructed much in the ſame manner as thoſe at Rocheſter. And the aſcent to all the loop-holes is by ſteps under the arches, as in thoſe of the lowermoſt ſtory of that caſtle: but the ſtructure of the arches themſelves, at the top, is here very different; they being made ſhelving down towards the loop-holes; which muſt have admitted weapons from without more eaſily, and have been attended with inconvenience. Probably, this being one of the earlieſt buildings of the kind in England, the method of ſloping the arches the contrary way, as a *further* precaution, was not then invented or thought of.

THIS caſtle is of vaſt dimenſions, being about 168 feet in length, and 127 in breadth; and there muſt have been three or four magnificent rooms, at leaſt, on every floor.

THE deception with regard to the round tower at one corner of it (the walls of which are above 20 feet thick), I have before taken notice of. And Mr. Morant informs us, that there was remaining, about thirty or forty years ago, a very fine well within

within the building, which was ſoon after that time deſtroyed, by one Wheeley: and, unleſs I was much miſtaken, I perceived traces of it in the remaining part of the foundations of one of the croſs walls, now pulled down.

I SHALL only juſt add, that the preſent little entrance into the caſtle, through the eaſt wall, adjoining to what is now the yard of the priſon, appears to me to have been no ſally-port, but merely a way forced through the arch of an old loop-hole: and another door-way has been ſtill more rudely forced out in the north front, at a little diſtance beneath the ancient original portal; the repreſentation of which I have omitted in the ſketch of that front, to avoid confuſion.

THERE remains now to be mentioned, by way of illuſtration, only one more building of this ſort, Guilford caſtle; of which I ſhall add a ſhort deſcription, both becauſe it is a moſt venerable piece of antiquity, that deſerves to be ſaved from oblivion; and on account of its having ſome great particularities in it worth notice. As to the reſt, in different parts of this kingdom, that might be referred to, I ſhall only ſay, they will, on inſpection, be found, in general, to confirm the obſervations here made. It is not, however, to be expected, that every kind of device met with at Rocheſter ſhould be found in all of them.

GUILFORD caſtle is ſmaller than any of thoſe already deſcribed, although king John is known to have had his reſidence here ſometimes; and once to have kept his birth-day in it. It is in dimenſions only 42 feet and an half, by 47, or thereabouts; and contained only one room on a floor, having no partition-wall.

ON the ground floor there were no windows, nor even ſo much as loop-holes; but in the upper ſtories, there was one great window, near the middle, on each ſide; the form of which

was ſuch as is repreſented fig. XXIII. pl. XXIII.: as to the reſt of the preſent windows, they are all modern breaches; and even ſome of the old ones have plainly been altered, and repaired; and have even had frames and pillars of brick-work inſerted. The preſent entrance alſo is manifeſtly a breach made in theſe later ages. And the original entrance may be ſtill perceived to have been undoubtedly through a ſtone arch, in the midſt of the weſt front, at a conſiderable height; and muſt have been approached by a ſtair-caſe, on the outſide of the wall. This arch, in which is a great *peculiarity* (it being a *pointed* one, although of a date long before pointed arches were introdnced into common uſe *), ſtill remains very perfect. And although it now paſſes for a window; yet that it was the ancient portal, is manifeſt, both from the ſtone arch within, which exactly correſponds with it, and differs from the arches of all the windows; and alſo from hence, that whereas the windows on the other three ſides are at the ſame height from the ground, this arch and portal is ſome feet lower, and its bottom level with the marks of the floor within. Its form may be ſeen rudely ſketched, Fig. XXIV.

THERE was a circular ſtair-caſe in one corner of this caſtle: and there are alſo galleries in the thickneſs of the wall, as at Rocheſter. There is, likewiſe, one very odd piece of fortification; which is, the mock appearauce of a falſe entrance, or ſally port, at one corner, on the ground, ſeeming to be filled

* In a very curious manuſcript, which I was once favoured with a ſight of, containing an account of the late earl of Strathmore's travels through Spain, mention is made of a like ſingularity: for in the Aqueduct near Segovia, which was undoubtedly built in the time of Trajan, there are alſo ſome pointed arches.

up

up with large ſquare ſtones, of a different kind from the reſt of the caſtle; and having, in order to increaſe the deception, machicolations over it, at a great height, as if to defend it from attacks. See Fig. XXV. Pl. XXIII.

I MIGHT extend theſe general obſervations much further, to the conſideration of many other caſtles; but to avoid being unneceſſarily tedious, ſhall only add, that although there was another mode of fortification, namely, that of having a *round* tower, or keep, on the top of a ſteep artificial mount; yet even here the ſame kind of rules were, in ſome meaſure, obſerved; as within thoſe very keeps there muſt have been magnificent rooms in their upper ſtories; if we pay any regard to what Dr. Borlaſe has ſaid, in his account of thoſe caſtles, which were the places of reſidence of the ancient dukes of Cornwall.

AND where we find, beſides a keep on an hill, an additional tower, communicating with it, by means of a gallery, or covered way and drawbridge, as at Tunbridge; ſuch additional tower had alſo magnificent apartments in the upper ſtories; and was fortified much in the ſame manner as has been here deſcribed; only the entrance was not ſo carefully ſecured; the great ſtrength of all being in the keep, to which a retreat might be made through the covered way.

IN all, however, the rule of having the ſtate apartments very high, and generally in the third ſtory, was invariably obſerved.

AND hence perhaps we may account for an odd circumſtance, in ſome very magnificent modern houſes, built on the ſite of ancient caſtles; namely, that the grand apartments are there alſo on the third ſtory, where, in other houſes, we uſually find only the Attic ſtory, and apartments of an inferior kind.

THIS is remarkably the caſe at Chatſworth, the ſeat of the duke of Devonſhire, in Derbyſhire; and at Belvoir caſtle, the

ſeat of the duke of Rutland, in Lincolnſhire. Probably theſe noble houſes, being built on the ſite of antient caſtles, where the ſtate rooms were always on that ſtory, this old cuſtom was preſerved, both as a mark of ancient dignity, and as a proof of their original.

I MIGHT mention many paſſages, in Holinſhed, and other ancient authors, which may be explained, and illuſtrated, by means of the account here given; and eſpecially ſuch as relate to the ſieges of theſe caſtles; and to the reſidence of many royal perſonages, with their courts, within their walls, and in theſe very towers, which have often, through miſtake, been conceived to have been mere dungeons, from their being called Keeps: but the doing ſo would render this paper too long; and would be an improper intruſion on the time and patience of the Society, which has already perhaps been too much broken in upon. I ſhall therefore only juſt extract one curious piece of hiſtory, relating to Rocheſter caſtle, which will ſtrongly confirm the obſervations I have ventured to make on the ſtrength of this building, and on the mode of defence. "King "John (ſays Holinſhed) * having recovered ſtrength about "him, and being advertiſed that William de Albanie was "entered into the caſtle of Rocheſter, with a great number of "knights, men of arms, and other ſoldiers, haſted thither "with his whole army, and beſieged them within; inforcing "himſelf by all ways poſſible to win the caſtle, as well by "battering the walls with engines, as by giving thereto many "aſſaults: but the garriſon within, conſiſting of ninety and "four knights, beſides demilances, and other ſoldiers, de-"fended the place very manfully, in hope of reſcue from the "barons. At length they within, *for want of vittels*, were

* Holinſhed, v. iii. p. 188. b.

"conſtrained

" conſtrained to yield it unto the king, after it had been be-
" ſieged the ſpace of threeſcore days.——And true it is, there
" had been no ſiege, in thoſe days, more earneſtly inforced,
" nor more obſtinately defended: for *after that all the limmes*
" *of the caſtell had been reverſed, and thrown down, they kept*
" *the maſter tower, till half thereof was overthrown; and after*
" *kept the other half, till, through famine, they were conſtrained*
" *to yield, having nothing but horſe-fleſh and water to ſuſtain their*
" *lives withall.*"

XXVI. *Mr.*

XXVI. *Mr.* Pegge's *Remarks on the Bones of Fowls found in* Chriſtchurch-Twynham, Hampſhire. *In a Letter to the Secretary.*

Read at the Society of Antiquaries, Dec. 5, 1776.

To the Rev. Mr. NORRIS.

DEAR SIR,

IF ſingularity be any motive for ſurprize and admiration, the late diſcovery at Chriſt-Church, in Hampſhire, may juſtly excite the wonder of the curious and inquiſitive. At that ancient monaſtery, now the ſeat of my moſt reſpected friend, Guſtavus Brander, eſq. the prior, who was a very conſiderable eccleſiaſtic [*a*], though not mitred, had his proper refectory, with a chapel adjoining. At the entrance of this chapel, juſt within the walls, a flat ſtone, two feet nine inches long, and two feet wide, was obſerved to be cemented with lead to the reſt of the pavement, which raiſing, by ſuch an extraordinary

[*a*] The revenues were valued, 26 H. VIII. at £. 312. 7*s*. 0*d*. ½; or, as Speed has it, at £. 544. 6*s*.

circum-

circumſtance, the curioſity of the worthy proprietor, he thought proper to have the ſtone taken up, in order to examine, whether ſomething of conſequence might not lie concealed underneath; when, to his great aſtoniſhment, he found only a vaſt quantity of the bones of fowls, to the amount nearly of half a buſhel, as of hens and cocks (as the ſpurs ſhewed), and of herons and bitterns, as plainly could be diſcerned by the uncommon length of the *tibiae* [*b*].

THIS is the fact; a fact of ſo extraordinary a nature, that there is certainly ſome difficulty in accounting for it. And yet the appearance is ſo uncommon [*c*], ſo *new*, I ſuppoſe I may ſay, to all our Engliſh antiquaries, that one may be tempted to endeavour to elucidate it, though it were only by conjecture; and indeed nothing more than conjecture can be offered or expected in the caſe.

Now there is no imaginable reaſon for preſerving the bones of fowls by interment, and in a religious place, from their uſe as viands; and therefore one is compelled to ſeek out for ſome more probable cauſe. And there ſeems to be no abſurdity in ſuppoſing, that in more ancient times there had ſtood a Pagan temple on the ſite of our chapel.

FOR firſt, we read in Jeffrey of Monmouth, "that the holy "doctors [Faganus and Duvanus] after they had almoſt extin-"guiſhed Paganiſm over the whole iſland [of Britain], de-"dicated the temples that had been founded in honour of many "Gods, to the one only God and his Saints, and filled them "with congregations of Chriſtians [*d*]." That is, they con-

[*b*] See Mr. Brander's own account of them, p. 117. Art. IX. of this volume.

[*c*] I have been ſhewn, by my friend Mr. Gough, ſome ſuch bones, which he himſelf took out of a vault, juſt then opened, in or near St. Mary's Abbey, York, but not in ſo large a quantity, about ſix or eight years ago.

[*d*] Jeffr. Monm. iv. c. 19. v. c. i.

verted the old temples of the idolatrous Britons into Chriſtian churches; and whatever may become of Jeffrey's authority in certain other reſpects, his flamens and archflamens, for inſtance, one may rationally give credit to his teſtimony in regard to the practice of the firſt Chriſtians concerning the religious ſtructures of the Pagans; eſpecially as the proceeding was exactly conformable to the directions which Gregory the Great afterwards gave in relation to the ſame matter. He bids Mellitus tell Auguſtine, "Quid diu mecum de cauſa Anglorum cogitans "tractavi, videlicet quia [i. e. quod] *fana idolorum deſtrui in* "*eadem gente minime debeant*; ſed ipſa quae in eis ſunt idola "deſtruantur; aqua benedicta ſiat, in eiſdem fanis aſpergatur, "altaria conſtruantur, reliquiae ponantur: quia *ſi fana eadem* "*bene conſtructa ſunt neceſſe eſt ut a cultu daemonum in obſequio veri* "*Dei debeant commutari*:" and then he adds the reaſon for this meaſure, and a ſenſible one it is, eſpecially when taken in "conjunction with that of preſerving ſo many uſeful and ſubſtantial edifices, "Ut dum gens ipſa eadem fana ſua non videt "deſtrui, de corde errorem deponat, et Deum verum cognoſcens "ac adorans, *ad loca quae conſuevit familiarius concurratc* [*e*]." Thus Ol. Wormius, ſpeaking of a ſingular old Church, ſays, *Suſpicor Fanum fuiſſe idolatricum in Chriſtianos uſus tandem converſum* [*f*]. Thus an heathen temple at Canterbury was turned into a church, and dedicated to St. Pancrace, as Thorne reports [*g*]. Mr. Somner, indeed, diſputes this fact, becauſe Bede has omitted it; but little, methinks, can be concluded from the ſilence of a *general* writer, who lived ſo remote, concerning

[*e*] Beda, l. c. 30.
[*f*] Mon. Dan. p. 490.
[*g*] Gul. Thorne, inter X Script. col. 1760.

a ſingle

a ſingle tranſaction of ſo *particular* a nature. Boniface IV. however, who acceded but four years after St. Gregory, actually converted the Pantheon at Rome into the church of *the bleſſed Virgin and all the Martyrs* [*b*]. And, to take no notice of the temple of Apollo at St. Peter's, Weſtminſter, which Mr. Widmore treats as a groundleſs fiction [*i*], the cathedral of St. Paul, London, was firſt founded and erected, as many think, in the very place where there had ſtood a temple of Diana [*k*]. For though the very learned Biſhop Stillingfleet has endeavoured to combat this notion [*l*], yet in Biſhop Gibſon's opinion it ought not to be totally or haſtily rejected [*m*].

ADMITTING then the cuſtom of converting Heathen temples into Chriſtian churches, it is very natural to ſuppoſe in the next place, that the miſſionaries of that age would, in all common policy, give the leaſt offence poſſible to their Pagan neighbours; on the contrary, that they would incline to ſhew all reſpect to their places of worſhip conſiſtent with the fundamentals and the purity of their own religion; that they would do every thing in their power to invite them to embrace the new way of worſhip, and nothing that might alienate their minds, or exaſperate them againſt it. So that though the idols themſelves were commanded to be deſtroyed [*n*], yet in other matters it was thought prudent for the preachers to condeſcend to the weakneſs of the people, and to accommodate themſelves and

[*b*] Platina, p. 103.
[*i*] Enq. into Found. of Weſtminſter Abbey, p. 2.
[*k*] Camd. col. 377. ſeq. Newcourt, Repert. L. p. 2.
[*l*] Stillingfleet, Diſc. on Antiq. of London, p. 542. ſeq.
[*m*] Gibſon in Camd. col. 378.
[*n*] Beda, I. cap. 30. iii. c. 8.

their ceremonials to their prejudices. You ſhall hear St. Gregory again, upon this head, and a paſſage it is exceedingly remarkable, "Et quia boves ſolent in ſacrificio daemonum multos "occidere, debet eis etiam hac de re aliqua ſolemnitas immu- "tari; ut die dedicationis, vel natalitii ſanctorum martyrum "quorum illic reliquiae ponuntur, tabernacula ſibi circa eaſ- "dem eccleſias quae ex fanis commutatae ſunt de ramis arbo- "rum faciant, et religioſis conviviis ſolemnitatem celebrent; "nec diabolo jam animalia immolent, et ad laudem Dei in eſu "ſuo animalia occidant, et donatori omnium de ſatietate ſua "gratias referant: ut dum eis aliqua exterius gaudia reſervan- "tur, ad interiora gaudia conſentire facilius valeant. *Nam* "*duris mentibus ſimul omnia abſcidere impoſſibile eſſe non dubium* "*eſt, quia et is qui ſummum locum aſcendere nititur, gaudibus vel* "*paſſibus non autem ſaltibus elevatur. Sic*, &c. [*o*]." Hence then I conclude, that the Chriſtian miſſionaries, when they found the bones either of beaſts or birds, which on any account had once been deemed ſacred, would not wantonly ſcatter them abroad, eſpecially when they met with them collected together in a certain place, but would permit them to remain there unmoleſted, in order to avoid giving a needleſs, and perhaps an hurtful diſguſt.

I OBSERVE, 3dly, that there was a religious foundation at Chriſt-Church, in the reign of king Edward the Confeſſor, conſiſting of a dean and 24 ſecular canons [*p*]. How long it had been in being before, is not known; but in all probability, as it was ſo large an eſtabliſhment, it had been many years in growing to that eminence, and was conſequently of very

[*o*] Beda, l. c. 30.
[*p*] Tanner, Notit. p. 158.

ancient

ancient erection. Chriſt-Church lay ſo near to Wincheſter, the Venta Belgarum, and the capital of the great and opulent kingdom of Weſſex, that one needs not wonder it ſhould be founded early in the Saxon times. I ſay the Saxon times, becauſe we do not find it ever had a Roman appellation, and its old names Twinham or Twinamburne [*q*], ſo plainly beſpeaks its Saxon original. Ought we not therefore to conclude, from the ſeveral matters here ſtated, that this private chapel of the prior was erected on the ſite of ſome ancient Heathen temple? The aboriginal Britons, it is true, had no temples, but then they had groves where they performed their ſacrifices; and as they were not unacquainted with our domeſtic poultry, though they did not uſe them in the way of food [*r*], no one can pretend to ſay, they might not apply them to certain purpoſes of religion, eſpecially as the Druids committed nothing to writing, and ſo little is conſequently known concerning the minutiae of their ritual. But be this as it may, the Romans occupied this part of the iſland very early, Veſpaſian having conquered it in the reign of Claudius [*s*], ſo that the Belgae ſoon became *romaniſed* by adopting all the religious practices of their conquerors. And beſides that the cock was ſacred to Apollo, Mercury, Aeſculapius, and more particularly to Mars [*t*], we all know what regard the Romans had for their Auſpicia, and that one ſort of auguries was taken from the motions and actions of chickens kept in a coop. Theſe birds were eſteemed highly ſacred amongſt them, and this cer-

[*q*] Camd. col. 134. Lambarde, Top. Dict. p. 373.
[*r*] Caeſar de B. G. V. cap. 12.
[*s*] Camd. col. 131.
[*t*] Archaeologia Soc. Antiq. III. p. 139.

tainly may ſufficiently account for the preſervation of their bones, when they happened to die, by the Romanizing Britons before their converſion to Chriſtianity.

I am, Sir, &c.

Whittington, May 25, 1776.

SAMUEL PEGGE.

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